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ABSTRACT

These six bulletins examine various aspects of women's employment in the European Union (EU). In the first bulletin, the different positions of women in the labor markets of the individual EU member countries are demonstrated to mirror the roles of women in each country's family and welfare system. The problems of unemployment and underemployment among women throughout the EU countries are analyzed in the second bulletin, which makes a case for the proposition that women's employment is the key to a higher European employment rate. In the third bulletin, time is shown to be a gender issue, and the question of whether gender equality and the fight against unemployment are complementary or competitive objectives of the EU is examined. The fourth bulletin documents the correlation between higher levels of economic activity among women and school completion throughout the EU. In the fifth bulletin, an analysis of wages by gender confirms that increasing female participation in the labor market has failed to close the gender pay gap. The sixth bulletin focuses on employment patterns by gender and demonstrates the disproportionate numbers of women in part-time and temporary jobs throughout the EU. (MN)

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April 1994 - October 1996

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Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU

No. 9 October 1996

The European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market researches into women's employment for the Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission. Each year the network investigates a particular aspect of women's employment and the results are published in a synthesis report drawing on individual national reports. The information bulletin is produced twice a year and the series provides information on key developments in women's employment in the European Union plus some topical items of news and research from the member states.

Women's position in the labour market mirrors their role in the family and welfare system

Employment patterns by gender can be considered a mirror image of traditional gender roles in the family and household system. Men's position as the main breadwinner of the household is reflected in their dominance of higher paid jobs, and in the norm of full-time continuous employment. Women's family roles as carers and as second income earners are reflected in interrupted employment careers, in part-time work contracts and in the lower wages women command, even when in full-time work.

These traditional stereotypes are breaking down in all societies as women seek greater economic independence and as patterns of household formation and organisation become more complex. The implicit gender contract underpinning social and economic organisation is becoming outmoded and inappropriate for the current behaviour and aspirations of both men and women. Yet progress towards the establishment of a new and more equal gender contract is both slow and uneven across member states.

European welfare states are spread across a spectrum, running from strong to weak male breadwinner systems

Different welfare and family systems may account in part for the uneven development towards a more gender equal society. While women in all EU countries have been demonstrating their desire for greater participation in wage employment, state welfare and labour market policies have retained a high degree of diversity across EU countries.

This diversity can be said to represent a spectrum from so-called strong male breadwinner welfare states to weak male breadwinner welfare states. A strong male breadwinner state defines wives as dependants and provides few incentives for married women or mothers to work. A weak male breadwinner state expects all fit adults regardless of sex to be employed or looking for work but provides incentives to work through individualised taxation and benefits and through assistance with childcare.

This classification system can be used for thinking about different models of employment and welfare organisation, even if it is sometimes difficult to classify individual member states because elements of their systems may be contradictory, sometimes favouring women's participation, sometimes subsidising the male breadwinner household.

The Nordic countries have come closest to adopting a weak male breadwinner state.... but strong male breadwinner states are still found

Those countries with contradictory characteristics could be regarded as modified male breadwinner states: for example France provides help with childcare, but retains a household taxation system which provides disincentives to women working. The UK has an individualised taxation system but a

Box 1: Strong, modified and weak male breadwinner states

A **strong male breadwinner** state is designed around the presumption of a male breadwinner and a dependent wife. Taxation systems tend to be household based, so that the total tax take is usually lower on married couples than on two single adults, but the effective marginal tax faced by the second earner is greater than for a single person. Welfare benefits involve high levels of derived rights for the spouse, and access to benefits may be dependent upon household income. Family policy encourages childcare in the family through extended but unpaid parental leave or through childraising allowances.

A **weak male breadwinner** state is based on the assumption that all fit adults of working age are likely to be in work or looking for work. Taxation and benefit systems are based around the individual, although welfare benefits may still involve household means-testing once individual entitlements are exhausted. The presumption of economic activity is supported by paid leave systems, by opportunities to reduce hours and by childcare provision.

A **modified male breadwinner** system involves contradictory elements from the strong and the weak male breadwinner systems, combining for example household taxation with childcare provision (for example France) or individual taxation with means-tested benefits and little or no childcare provision (for example the UK)

household-based benefit system and provides little or no help with childcare.

These different approaches to the welfare and family systems have repercussions along a number of dimensions. State policies may affect, for example: the demand for female labour; how women define themselves - for example as economically active or inactive -; and the costs and benefits of participation decisions, taking into account childcare and other constraints.

High female employment rates have been boosted by the expansion of public sector services.

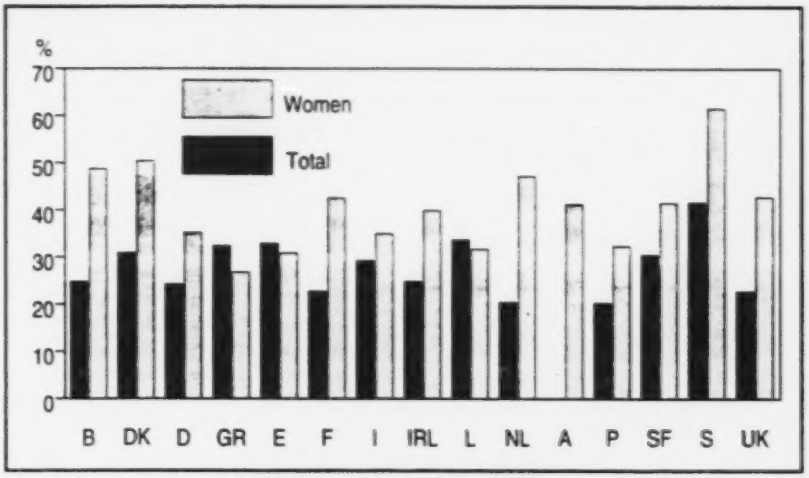
Public sector employment accounts for a much higher share of female than male employment in all member states except for Greece, Spain and Luxembourg (see Figure 1). The high level of female employment found in both Sweden and Denmark has been directly linked to their well developed welfare states. Not only have women been helped to enter the labour market because of a high level of provision of public care facilities for the young and the elderly but these employment areas have generated a major demand for female labour. Public administration, education and health accounts for over 60% of total female employment in Sweden and over 50% in Denmark. Other countries with lower overall female employment rates still have a very high share of female employment in these areas, with the share exceeding 45% in a further six countries. It is primarily in the Southern countries that public sector employment accounts for a lower overall share of female employment, and the relative lack of development of public sector services contributes to low female employment rates in countries such as Spain. In principle expansion of public sector services could, according to the Nordic experience, provide an important source of employment growth for women, but constraints on public sector expenditure is likely to restrict such expansion, even if these could in the longer term boost both the number of women in the labour force and the tax base of the economy.

Cutbacks in public sector employment are thus likely to be more damaging to women's employment prospects than to men's. There are other routes to high female employment, for example through a large private services sector such as in the United States, or through a strong involvement of women in both agriculture and manufacturing as in Portugal. Yet there is little prospect in any member state of significant jobs growth outside of services, and experience from the United States suggests that high female employment rates based on private service provision may involve a large number of low paid, part-time and unprotected jobs. Public sector jobs have tended to provide a more secure employment environment and better opportunities to reconcile work and family life.

Access to unemployment benefits and to active labour market policies requires participation on the standard male model of full-time continuous work.

Where the welfare state system has been organised around a male breadwinner model, access to unemployment benefits often requires continuous employment, and for a minimum number of hours per week. These requirements are more difficult for women to meet in societies where women still have interrupted careers and work part-time. In addition some systems require that unemployment benefit recipients should normally be available for full-time work or be able to demonstrate that they can make alternative childcare arrangements at short notice. Some women who have contributed to unemployment benefit schemes while in employment may not be able to claim benefits as they have made insufficient contributions, are unavailable for full-time work or cannot meet the availability for work tests.

1 **Share of total and female employment in public administration, health and education, 1994**



Source (New States) : National Reports
Source (E12): European Labour Force Survey 1994 (IER, Warwick)

Table 1: Unemployment benefit system in the EU member states

	Continuity requirements for unemployment benefits	Access of part-timers to unemployment benefits	Duration of non means-tested benefits
B	Medium	Low	Long
DK	Low	Medium	Long
D	Low	Low	Medium
GR	Low	-	Short
E	Low	High	Medium
FR	Medium	High	Medium
IRL	High	Low	Short
I	Medium*	-	Short
L	Medium	Medium	Medium
NL	Medium	High	Long
A	Medium	High**	Short
P	High	-	Medium
SF	Low	Low	Medium
S	Low	Low	Short
UK	Medium	Low	Short

Column A. Continuity requirements.
Low - less than 6 months in past year or equivalent. Medium - approximately equal to 6 months in past year or equivalent. High - greater than 6 months in past year.
Column B. Access of part-timers to unemployment benefits.
Low- minimum hours threshold of 17 hours or more, or minimum earnings requirement or requirement to be available for full-time work. Medium - minimum hours threshold more than 12 but less than 17; no requirement to be available for full-time work. High - minimum hours threshold of 12 hours or less; no requirement to be available for full-time work.
Column C. Duration of means-tested benefits.
Short - 15 months maximum or less. Medium - more than 15 months maximum but less than 3 years maximum. Long - more than 3 years maximum.
*ordinary unemployment benefits ** earnings related and no min. level for part-timers.

Source: Rubery, Smith, Fagan and Grimshaw (1996)
Women and the European employment rate.

Table 1 shows the wide variety of eligibility conditions between member states by length of contributions required and by access for part-timers. Member states have been promoting the advantages of flexible employment contracts and flexible employment careers and in some cases have protected unemployment benefit rights for those who have entered part-time direct from unemployment. **But the overall direction of change has been towards stricter entitlements for benefits, based on more continuous employment, and without improved access for part-timers.**

Where women's access to unemployment benefits is restricted, women themselves may be more likely to see their participation as contingent and to move, for example, from employment into inactivity instead of defining themselves as unemployed. Under male breadwinner models of social organisation women may be more likely to see themselves as dependent housewives than where access to benefits and income are determined more on an individual basis.

New flexible employment patterns require a redesign of the unemployment benefit system.

The changes in labour market organisation, away from full-time continuous employment contracts, have not led to a redesign of the unemployment benefit system in member states. Instead the burden of flexibility is being borne by labour market participants, particularly women, whose employment patterns may exclude them from independent access to benefits.

Restricting access to active labour market policies to the registered unemployed excludes many female unemployed

Access to active labour market policies is often restricted to those registered as unemployed and claiming unemployment benefits. Women may not be eligible for unemployment benefits even when they are without work and wanting to work. Even those who have recently been in employment have less eligibility because of short hours or temporary contracts and many unemployed women may be returning to the labour market after an extended break to look after children. Some countries have extended access to women returners, but often only if places are available or on special schemes.

Women are overrepresented among the unemployed but often underrepresented in active labour market schemes, especially where these involve direct work experience and participation in workplace-based training or job creation schemes. Concentration of policies on the registered unemployed or those claiming benefits leads to discrimination against women. Mainstreaming gender into active labour market policies requires a rethink of current practices; Box 2 outlines some principles which could be integrated into a new gender sensitive approach to active labour market policy.

Means-testing of unemployment benefits deprives women of access to independent income.....

Figure 2 shows the maximum length of time for which benefit recipients receive non means-tested benefits. This varies from an unlimited time period in Belgium to six months for ordinary unemployment benefits in Italy, together with the UK which has cut its maximum length from one year to six months in 1996. Once access is means-tested, women are much less likely than men to receive benefits as they are more likely to have spouse's whose employment income places them outside the scope of the means-tested benefits. In contrast when the male unemployed move onto means-tested benefits, their spouses income may not be sufficient to provide an alternative to benefits and women may be under pressure to leave the labour market.

....and may force female spouses of the unemployed into inactivity

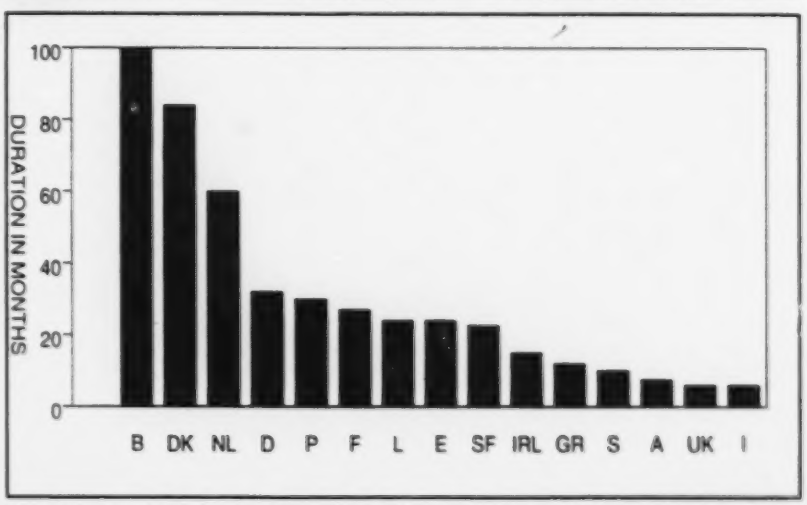
The result of household means-tested unemployment benefits may be to promote the social exclusion of whole households. Means-tested systems often impose very high marginal tax rates on additional household earnings, discouraging labour market participation of spouses of the unemployed. Figure 3 shows that indeed the likelihood of an individual being unemployed is increased if his or her spouse is also unemployed. This concentration of unemployment among certain households

Box 2: Towards gender friendly active labour market policies

Mainstreaming gender equality into the design of active labour market policies involves consideration of the following issues:

- eligibility requirements, including extending access to women who want to work but who do not fulfil requirements for unemployment benefit;
- the design of policies to ensure that women are not concentrated in programmes remote from employment, while men are overrepresented in on-the-job, employer-led programmes;
- the coverage of programmes to ensure that male-dominated jobs or sectors are not given priority over female-dominated jobs and sectors;
- the provision of access to childcare especially in countries where childcare is limited;
- closer integration of positive action and women only training courses with actual job opportunities and targeted in areas of expanding employment;
- policies to ensure that the encouragement of participation by welfare recipients does not involve unreasonable pressure on single parents to work without adequate childcare facilities.

2 Maximum duration of non-means tested unemployment benefits



Note: duration of benefits are the maximum where duration is subject to contribution record.
Source: Rubery et al (1996:171)

is likely to be associated with the characteristics of household members, including their educational level, but what is notable is that women are much more likely to be pulled into unemployment by the unemployment of their spouse than are men. Household means-testing is taking on greater not less importance in the unemployment benefit system in many countries, with potential negative consequences for women.

Male breadwinner welfare states provide fiscal subsidies for households with dependent wives and children...

Male breadwinner systems of household organisation can only function if either men are able to earn wages sufficient to support themselves and their dependants or if households receive state subsidies and support for a dependent spouse and children. Such support is often provided through the taxation system. Systems which take the household instead of the individual as the basic unit of taxation tend to impose high marginal taxes on second income earners, thereby discouraging participation by the spouse, while providing tax subsidies to households with dependent wives.

Seven countries still take the household as the basic taxation unit, three of which aggregate household income for tax purposes, while two split the joint income between partners and two divide the income by a family quotient based on the number of adults and children. Eight countries have adopted individual taxation systems. In practice most countries have hybrid systems; for example, within household based systems there is an option for single taxation, or under individualised systems there is the option of transferring unused tax allowances to the other spouse, or additional allowances are given related to marriage or the existence of a dependent spouse. Only Sweden and Finland appear to have a fully individualised system.

... but impose high marginal tax rates on the second, and female income earner

Under a household income tax system, the marginal tax rate faced by second income earners can be expected to be higher than for their single counterparts, even though the aggregate taxation rate on the household may be lower than if taxed as two single adults. Few countries provide these advantages to cohabiting couples even though cohabiting couples are normally taken to constitute a household when means-tested benefits are calculated. Thus the tax system reinforces the status of marriage.

A tax system supports the economic independence of women if the individual is the basic unit of taxation, and extra tax relief relates to the care of children and not to marriage or adult dependence.

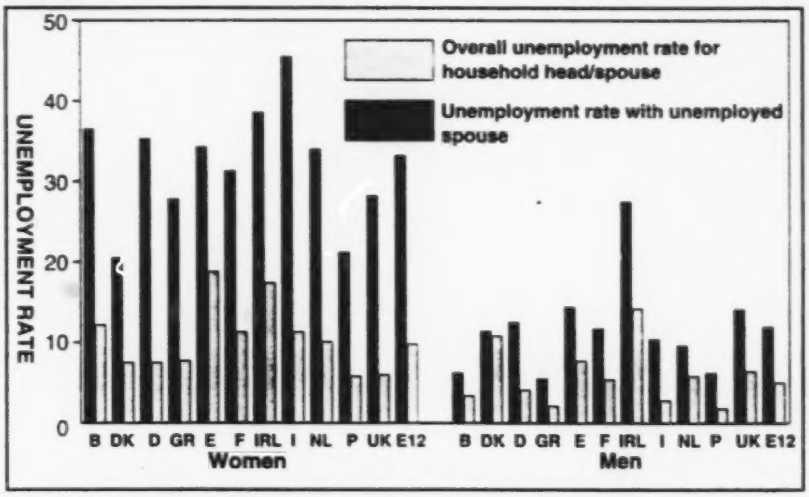
Coordinated family policies, provide the best means of promoting women's employment

Lack of childcare provision is a more significant constraint on the economic activity of mothers than the taxation system. State policies with respect to facilitating child care can include:

- incentives for mothers and/or fathers to take leave on a full or part-time basis;
- direct provision of preschool childcare; help with childcare costs;
- arrangements of school entry dates and school hours to facilitate the participation of parents in employment;
- the provision of after school care.

Most member states provide some elements of these policies, but it is the combination of policies, and the specific form that they take which will determine the extent to which they promote the employment of women.

3 Unemployment rates for women and men with an unemployed spouse and all women and men. 1990



Source: Eurostat (1993) Unemployed Women in the EC (Annex 3.6)

Table 2: Taxation systems in EU member states

	Taxation system	Modifications
B	Income splitting	Maximum 30% of income can be transferred to spouse. Individual taxation option.
DK	Individualised	Allowances transferable to spouse.
D	Income splitting	Individual taxation option.
GR	Individualised	
E	Aggregation	Individual taxation option. Dependent spouse allowance.
FR	Family quotient	
IRL	Aggregation	Individual taxation option. Dependent spouse allowance.
I	Individualised	Dependent spouse allowance.
L	Family quotient	
NL	Individualised	Allowance transferable to spouse.
A	Individualised	Dependent spouse allowance
P	Aggregation	Individual taxation option. Higher allowance for married couple.
SF	Individualised	
S	Individualised	
UK	Individualised	Marriage allowance.

Notes:
Aggregation = household taxation based on the aggregation of earnings of married couples
Income splitting = aggregated earnings of married couples is divided in two.
Family quotient = aggregation includes children's income and aggregated income is divided by family quotient which includes allowance for children.

Source: Rubery, Smith, Fagan and Grimshaw (1996)

Combinations of policies which do little to support the employment of women, or may even reinforce their position as dependents:

- extended periods of unpaid or low paid parental leave combined with limited or no childcare facilities to facilitate re-employment at the end of the leave period;
- short school hours, interrupted schooldays and/or long holidays, combined with limited after school or holiday childcare arrangements;
- limited publicly funded childcare for preschool children and a late start date for compulsory schooling.

Most countries currently provide parental leave systems, with only the UK, Ireland and Luxembourg having no parental leave system, except in the public sector in Luxembourg (see data appendix and box). The Netherlands only has the opportunity for part-time leave while three more - Spain, Greece and Portugal - only provide unpaid leave. Four countries provide paid leave which may be means-tested, paid at a low level or in the case of France only available for the second child (previously only for the third child). Only three countries, all of them Nordic countries, provide paid parental leave at a reasonable level, although even here the Danish leave is paid only at 80% of unemployment benefits. Sweden and Finland stand out as having parental leave systems providing high individual income replacement ratios, at 75% for Sweden for all women and 66% maximum for Finland, falling to 25% maximum for high income earners. All three Nordic countries have also seen falls in the parental leave payments over recent years, or further cuts planned.

There is little evidence at present that other EU member states are moving towards the Nordic example of providing parental leave with high replacement income. The new directive on parental leave may stimulate the spread of parental leave systems but member states will decide whether or not leave should be paid and at what level. Most interest in parental leave systems over recent years has been in extending either the length of leave (for example in Finland, Denmark and Austria) or extending eligibility (to the second child in France, to both parents as in Sweden and Denmark, or introducing career breaks into the private sector in Belgium). Parental leave in these examples is being used as a form of work sharing but worksharing concentrated primarily on women. The new directive on parental leave provides for leave as an individual and non transferable right which should increase the participation of men. However, in all countries, except to some extent the Nordic countries, extended parental leave involves financial costs as it is either unpaid or low paid. This may limit opportunities to take up the leave even when these are provided as an individual right.

Box 3: New Directive on Parental Leave

The European Council of Ministers on Social affairs adopted a new directive on parental leave on 3 June 1996 which was agreed by the social partners under the framework of the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty for 14 countries (excluding the UK). The Directive allows for up to three months leave for both parents of children aged under eight years. The leave is an individual right, not transferable between parents, and employee rights are preserved for the period of the leave. Each member state will decide the exact arrangements of the leave, the notice required and the payment. This new directive will have the greatest effect in the countries where there are currently no parental leave arrangements, Luxembourg and Ireland.

Parental leave is thus a necessary part of a policy to promote women's employment but needs to be backed up by childcare provision.

The table in the data appendix gives some indication of the very different rates of childcare provision in EU member states. Only the Nordic countries together with France and Belgium make significant provision of publicly-funded childcare places for children under three. Where state policy does not back up extended leave with childcare facilities, women are less able to use leave systems as a bridge back into employment. In Germany, for example, the rate of return to the labour market is relatively low.

In Finland and France there is some concern that the recent extension of eligibility for extended leave to those with two children in France and to all Finnish women whether or not in employment, could reduce the continuity of female participation rather than strengthen it. In Finland more women in the their twenties are now defined as housewives, probably as a result of the introduction of child homecare leaves for all up until the child is three at a time of very poor employment prospects. However, in this case Finnish children still have the right to a childcare place which should aid women's reentry to the labour market once the child homecare leave is exhausted.

Women's domestic roles are only modified and not transformed by family policies

Sweden still has the most flexible and best remunerated system, with replacement earnings 75%, and the opportunity to take full or part-time leave for a maximum of 15 months up until the child is 8, with opportunities for unpaid reductions in hours in addition. Sweden also has the highest rate of take up of leave by fathers with around two fifths of all fathers taking some leave, even though the number of days taken only accounts for 9% of all leave.

Even in Sweden the parental leave has not fundamentally changed the gender division of labour. The result is a high share of women in part-time employment, albeit on a voluntary basis, and a consequent retention of men as the dominant household provider, even within an almost universal dual earner family system. The spectrum of systems of family and welfare organisations still ranges only from strong to weak male breadwinner models, and not from strong male breadwinner to equality models.

Derived social security rights may result in women being employed in marginal jobs outside the social security net

Social security systems are also often organised around the principle of a primary and thus male breadwinner. In strong male breadwinner states spouses derive rights to social security benefits, including pensions and health care, through their partners.

A derived rights system may result in women being available to take jobs outside the social security net. Incentives to accumulate individual rights, for example to pensions, may be weak if such benefits are means-tested on household income or if the benefits, for example attached to part-time jobs, are unlikely to provide a significant source of independent income. This last problem, that women's jobs currently tend to be low paid and thus give rise to low income-related benefits, immediately highlights the problems of a rapid switch from derived to individual rights. There is the danger that such a move, if it involved the curtailing of derived rights, might require women to providing for themselves out of their own limited access to wage income.

Pensions based on citizens' rights tend to provide the best protection for women

Women tend to fare best in countries which provide a basic pension system where access

is based more on citizenship and less on employment record, and worst in systems where the state provides only residual protection with state pensions fixed at a low level and the gap made up by either private provision or means-tested benefits. The most popular European pension system, the income security system, tends to provide relatively high entitlements based on past employment records. Men are more likely to accumulate such rights but the income security system also often provides better derived rights to women than the residual systems. Such systems still discriminate against those women who are outside stable partnerships.

Figure 4 shows pension entitlements as a percentage of male average net earnings in manufacturing, comparing entitlements under a full contributory pension and a pension based on social assistance. The best pension entitlements as a percentage of earnings are provided in countries following the income security model, but these pension entitlements vary with earnings and thus favour men. Moreover those who rely on social assistance, which may include many women outside conventional family relationships, face a much lower replacement rate. The basic security systems, illustrated here by Denmark, tend to provide a better social assistance pension and there is less advantage, at least for low paid workers, in obtaining a full contributory pension. In the residual systems the replacement rate for both the state full contributory pension and for the social assistance minimum is low, indicating the need to rely on private pension systems or additional means-tested benefits for adequate income replacement in old age.

Women would benefit more from a move towards higher basic benefits as a citizen's right, less dependent upon histories of earned income, than to pension rights based on women's own work histories. Even in the Scandinavian countries which have adapted to individualised rights within a context of a universal pension entitlement, women still receive lower pension entitlements than men on account of interrupted work histories, shorter working hours and lower pay rates.

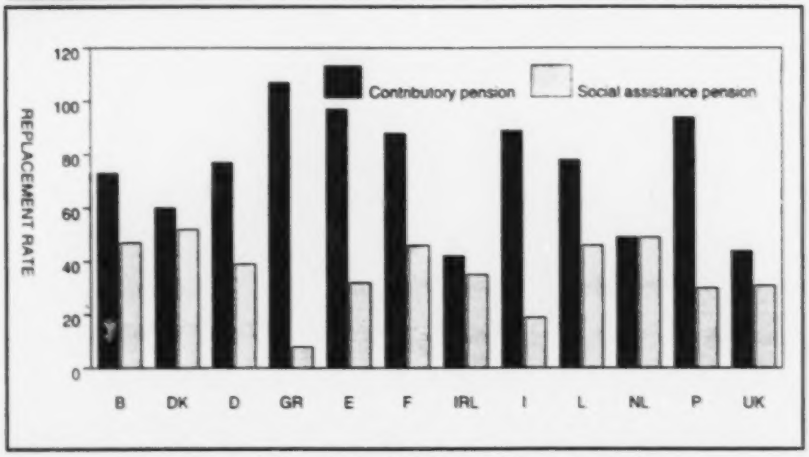
In practice many pension systems may be moving in the opposite direction from a universal benefit provision - towards reduced basic pensions, longer contribution periods for full pensions and increased reliance on private or occupational provision. In this context women again are likely to lose out because of their weak position in the labour market which reduces their access to private pension provision.

Table 3: Pension systems in EU member states

Residual (state plays a minimal role, family and market roles emphasized.)	UK, IRL
Income security (state ensures high earning related benefit for those with adequate employment record.)	D, B, F, GR, I, E, P, L, A
Basic security (state provides a universal benefit.)	DK, NL, SF, S

Source: Rubery, Smith, Fagan and Grimshaw (1996); J Ginn and S Arber (1994) *Gender and pensions in Europe: current trends in women's pension acquisition*, in P Brown and R Crompton (eds) *A New Europe? Economic Restructuring and Social Exclusion.* UCL Press: Canterbury.

4 Average replacement rates for a full contributory state pension and a social assistance pension



Source: European Commission (1993) Social Protection in Europe

The only improvement in women's pension rights has come in some countries from the granting of credits towards the basic state pension for periods out of the labour market spent in childcare.

A rethinking of the principles of welfare state organisation does not seem to be on the agenda of EU member states.

Welfare state reform in Europe still does not include a rethinking of the male breadwinner systems on which many countries base their welfare system. Yet both the strong and the weak male breadwinner states face problems; the former because this system is less and less relevant for large shares of the population who do not live in traditional nuclear families, or do not stay in them over their lifecourse; the latter because of the perceived high costs of high welfare state provision, leading to pressure to cut back on those policies which have both relieved women of some of the burden of care and provided access to employment.

The outcome of these pressures is not yet known. What is perhaps notable is that female employment has been rising in all member states, and this suggests that any policy based on a reinforcement of the male breadwinner model is unlikely to be successful. State policies influence but do not fully determine either social organisation or the aspirations and behaviour of women. Yet, despite the widening gap between state policies and current family patterns and modes of behaviour, many trends seem to be reinforcing this mismatch. The direction of change is towards more means-testing, fewer individual rights and more limited support for parents in their attempts to reconcile work and family life.

This failure to address the shortcomings of the male breadwinner model may not be accidental. Much female employment growth has been in precarious, low paid and atypical employment, a growth supported by the maintenance of the male breadwinner family form. The progressive integration of women into the wage economy may have highlighted the inequalities associated with the male breadwinner model of organisation, but the pattern of female integration into the wage economy over recent years has continued to be shaped by the gender division of labour in the household.

Coordinated policies are needed which address the inequalities faced by women in both the household and state welfare systems and in the labour market if there is to be any lasting move towards a new gender contract and genuine gender equality.

THE NETHERLANDS: PROMOTING PART-TIME WORK

A Bill has been introduced prohibiting employers from making distinctions in working conditions based on the number of hours worked. The Bill gives part-timers, many of whom are women, an explicit right to equal treatment in areas negotiated by the social partners, such as wages above minimum rates, holiday pay and entitlement, overtime payment and training. However, only workers with an official employment contract are covered, thus excluding many flexible work relationships. Also, overtime payments continue to be linked to the full-time working week, thereby re-introducing the full-time working week as the standard.

BELGIUM: GENDERED IMPACT OF CURRENT EMPLOYMENT PACKAGE MEASURES

The failure of past employment measures combined with the need to meet Maastricht convergence criteria has led successive governments to adopt radical measures, *inter alia*, via the Global and Multi-annual Employment Programmes. The measures divide into three groups reflecting the concerns of the European White Paper. First, measures have been introduced to lower labour costs via a decrease in employers' contributions. These are expensive and risk the dismantling of the social security system. Second, measures to redistribute or share work involve an increase in flexibility in employment contracts, working hours, and forms of work. Many of these policies (e.g., part time and temporary work) primarily affect and are aimed at female workers, and are likely to result in poor quality employment. Third, measures to exploit new sources of employment also predominantly affect women as most jobs created are in already heavily 'feminized' sectors involving poor working conditions and low pay. These measures may undermine the normalisation of female employment by promoting atypical employment.

AUSTRIA: RECENT BUDGET CONSOLIDATION MEASURES AFFECT WOMEN PARTICULARLY

Last April, Austria's parliament passed a resolution for an 'economy package' aimed at lowering the national budget deficit through reduced government spending. Women and families are particularly affected by the measures which include the abolition of a special childbearing benefit, the reduction of family allowances and other benefits for students and the cutting of parental leave from two years to eighteen months (unless the second partner takes at least three months leave). Lone mothers will be particularly affected by reductions in caring benefits. Unemployment assistance and early retirement pensions are now dependent on the length of previous employment, which disadvantages women. The economy package will halt public sector recruitment, causing particular problems for women. However, some women may benefit from a measure making freelance contract workers (freelance contracts) liable to social security.

SPAIN: EVOLVING MODELS OF WOMEN'S LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Research by Adam (1995) indicates that although Spain can still be classified as a 'male breadwinner country', there is a transition towards the dual career model. Spanish husbands may be divided into 'insiders' or the permanently employed and 'outsiders' on temporary contracts. Married women's participation depends both on their own education and whether they live in 'insider' or 'outsider' household. Those with high education stay in the labour market after childbirth but the less educated women quit except for those in outsider households, where uncertainty over the husband's employment encourages them to remain in employment. These developments also fit with a transition from a working daughters model to a working mothers model of female participation.

Adam, P. (1995) 'Transiciones Laborales de la Mujer Casada: Determinantes de la Movilidad', in Dolado, J. and Jimeno, J. (eds) Estudios sobre el Funcionamiento del Mercado de Trabajo Espanol, Colecciones FEDEA, Madrid.

Adam, P. (1995) 'Mothers in an Insider-Outsider Economy. The Puzzle of Spain', European University Institute, September, Mimeo.

DENMARK: ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET POLICIES AND DANISH WOMEN

Women are over-represented in most Danish labour market policy measures, forming the majority of participating in the parental leave and educational support programmes. While a growing number of women in the 25-59 year age group have worked full-time and have been integrated into the core labour force, a growing minority has also been marginalised as indicated by the increasing number of women on social benefit or early retirement pensions. Labour market programmes allow mothers of young children to remain active in the labour market and many unskilled women gain qualifications which enable them to be reemployed. However, many are forced to keep searching for jobs and or participate in job training in order to receive benefits (even if they wish to opt out of paid work for a period to fulfil their care responsibilities in the family). This has been the case for many lone mothers. Few women now depend on the family for support. In both 1970 and 1994 about one third of the working age population were not in employment, but in 1970 the large majority were women living in male breadwinner families, while today, women and men constitute more equal shares of the non-employed, and receive support from outside the family via public income schemes.

Pedersen, P. (1994) 'Persistent unemployment - Aspects of the Danish Experience' Centre for Labour Market and Social Research (CLMSR), 94-03, Aarhus.

Pedersen, P. and Smith, N. (1995) 'The Welfare state and the labour market', CLMSR, 95-17, Aarhus.

IRELAND: BREAKTHROUGH IN EQUALITY CASE

A Supreme Court judgement in an equality case (Breda Nathan v Bailey Gibson Ltd) in February has established a crucial principle in cases of indirect discrimination in Ireland. Due to the ambiguous wording of the Employment Equality Act 1977, previous cases of indirect discrimination were limited to those where a complainant could demonstrate discrimination as a result of a sex-related requirement, in effect, requiring direct discrimination to be established for indirect discrimination cases - a contradictory and restrictive legal position. This judgement establishes the primacy of EU law over national legislation and consequently establishes indirect discrimination where a requirement disproportionately affects persons of a particular sex. The way is open for future cases of indirect discrimination in Ireland to be judged in the context of EU law, rather than according to the more restrictive clause of the Irish Employment Equality Act 1977.

GERMANY: PROTESTS PROMPT PENSION POLICY ALTERATIONS

In April 1996, Germany's government announced drastic cuts in public spending to reduce the public deficit for 1997. One part of the programme was intended to increase the age at which women may receive statutory pensions. The proposal of April 1996 fixed the pension age for women at 63 years (up from 60 years) from 1997, increasing to 65 years by 2001. Each year of earlier retirement would 'cost' an individual 3.6% of their pension. As pensions are based on lifetime employment duration and previous earnings, West German women currently receive an average statutory pension of 793 DM, compared to 1,793 DM for men. Protest against this proposal turned on the argument that a politically and institutionally supported model of mothers withdrawing from the labour market leads to insufficient pensions for women. The government is now withdrawing this proposal and returning to the old plan. Spending cuts will be made elsewhere, through including plans to cancel the early retirement programmes and to introduce a partial early retirement regulation which would allow a combination of part-time employment and partial pensions. This programme will affect mainly men, as early retirement programmes have mainly been taken up by men.

Parental leave and childcare in EU member states

Country	Length of maternity and parental leave in months after birth of each child	Payment for parental leave	Publicly funded child-care for ages 0-3[f] % of age group covered	School hours
B	27	FR	30	Long day
DK	30	FR	48	Medium day
D	36	FR[c]	2 (W), 50 (E)	Half day
GR	9	U	3	Half day
E	36	U	2	Long day[g]
FR	36	FR[d]	23	Long day
IRL	3[a]	-	2	Medium day
I	9[a]	ER[e]	6	Half day
L	2	-	n.a.	Half day
NL	15[b]	U	8	Long day[g]
A	24	FR	3	-
P	27	U	12	Half day[h]
SF	36	ER + FR	21	-
S	36	ER	33	-
UK	7[a]	-	2	Medium day

Note : FR = flat rate. ER = earnings related. U = unpaid.

(a) Maternity leave only.
(b) Includes 6 months per parent part-time leave only.
(c) Means tested.
(d) Only paid for families with 2 or more children.
(e) Low earnings-related benefit.
(f) Greece 0 - 2½, Netherlands 0-4, UK 0-5.
(g) Long day but with a long lunch break which may or may not be supervised.
(h) Half day as shortage of places has meant children attending in shifts.

Source: European Commission Network on Childcare (forthcoming); EU Childcare Network (1994) *Leave arrangements for workers with children: a review of leave arrangements in the Member States of the European Community and Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden* Report prepared for the Equal Opportunities Unit, DGV. Brussels: European Commission.

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Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU

No. 8 April 1996

The European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market researches into women's employment for the Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission. Each year the network investigates a particular aspect of women's employment and the results are published in a synthesis report drawing on individual national reports. The information bulletin is produced twice a year and the series provides information on key developments in women's employment in the European Union plus some topical items of news and research from the member states.

The White Paper on *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment* published by the European Commission in 1993 drew attention to the low employment rate in the European Union compared to major competitor nations as well as to the persistent problem of mass unemployment. The EU (E12) employment rate which measures the share of the working age population in employment fell from around 63% in 1971 to just 58% in 1983 before rising to the rate of 60.3% in 1992, still well below that in the USA and Japan, at 69% and 73% respectively. Yet in the early 1970s the EU had a higher employment rate than the USA. The EU female employment rate in 1992 was 48.3% compared to 72.5% for men.

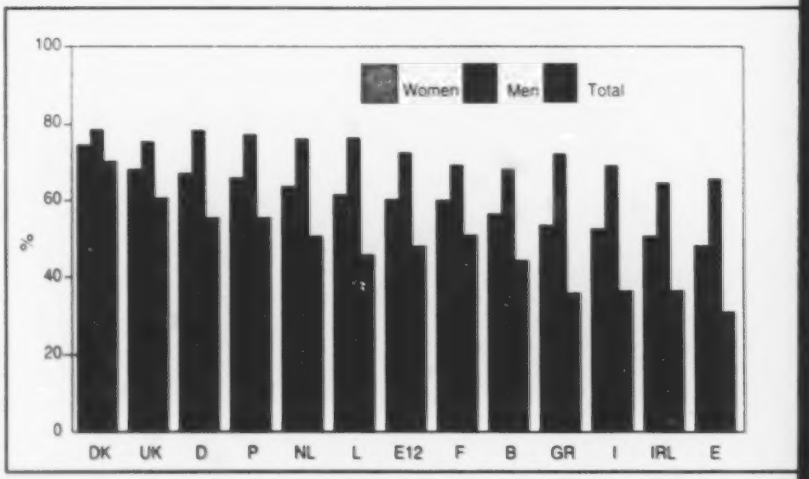
WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IS THE KEY TO A HIGHER EUROPEAN EMPLOYMENT RATE

Women's employment has been largely ignored in the analysis of Europe's employment rate problem and it was not until the Essen European Council of Ministers summit in 1994 that greater attention was paid to the role of women in the labour market. Even after the Essen summit women's issues were still regarded as largely peripheral to the main problem of low levels of employment in the EU. The Network of Experts has been working to make women's employment central to the diagnosis of the European employment rate problem and this Bulletin shows how women's employment is crucial to current and future patterns of employment in the EU.

Employment rates within the European Union vary significantly, from a high of 74.4% in Denmark to a low of just 48.8% in Spain in 1992 (figure 1). Italy, Ireland and Greece join Spain with employment rates at least six percentage points lower than the average. At the top end of the distribution Portugal, Germany and the UK all have employment rates more than five percentage points higher than the average but the UK's rate, the second highest in E12, was still six percentage points lower than Denmark's. The four remaining countries' employment rates all fall within four percentage points of the average, the Netherlands and Luxembourg above and France and Belgium below. Much of the large variation in employment rates can be explained by different shares of the female population in employment. Male employment rates in the 12 member states range between 64% to 65% in Spain and Ireland to just over 78% in Denmark and Germany while female employment rates range from over 70% in Denmark to only 31% in Spain. The member states with the higher employment rates - Denmark, the UK, Germany, and Portugal - all have female employment rates at least seven percentage points higher than average.

This Bulletin draws on a report for the Equal Opportunities Unit of DG-V of the European Commission. The data in the report were collected before the new member states joined the EU - see the panel on women's employment in the three new members states. Rubery, J., Smith, M., Fagan, C. and Grimshaw, D. (1995) *Women and the European Employment Rate: The Causes and Consequences of Variations in Female Activity and Employment Patterns in the European Union*. European Commission's Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market. Available from the coordination team.

1 Employment rates for the European Union, 1992



Note: Data for Germany excluding the New Länder
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1992

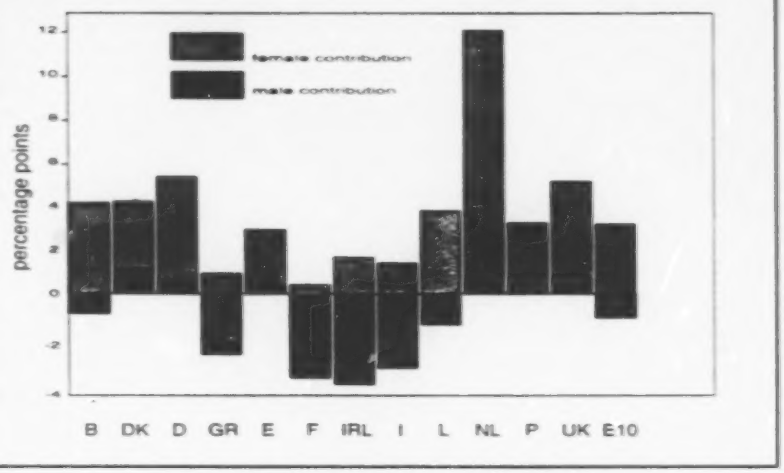
The wide variation in employment rates shows the diversity of the employment systems between member states. Within each country the male employment rate exceeds that for women but the female employment rate in Denmark is higher than the male rate in Belgium, Ireland, Spain, Italy and France. Female employment rates in all other EU countries are at least ten points lower than the Danish rate and below all other male employment rates.

Between 1983 and 1992 women made a positive contribution to maintaining or increasing European employment rates and without the expansion of female employment in all countries the European employment rate would have declined. Women accounted for three quarters of all new jobs between 1983 and 1992 in the European Union. Over the period the EU female employment rate (E10 excluding Spain and Portugal) rose by over six percentage points while the male employment rate fell by 1.4 percentage points. Changing female employment rates actually contributed to a 3.2 percentage point rise in the E10 employment rate while changing male employment rates led to a 0.9 percentage point fall, resulting in a 2.4 percentage point rise for men and women combined. The most significant positive contributions came from women's employment in the UK and Germany while falling employment rates for men in Italy and France had the most significant negative impacts.

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT RATES ROSE IN ALL COUNTRIES WHILE MALE EMPLOYMENT RATES EITHER FELL OR ROSE BY MUCH LESS

In six member states female employment rates rose by five percentage points or more and by as much as 10 and 16 percentage points in Germany and the Netherlands respectively. Only in France did the female employment rate rise by less than a percentage point but the French male employment rate fell by over six percentage points. Male employment rates increased in only four member states between 1983 and 1992 but only by more than five percentage points (7.6%) in the Netherlands. The large increases in the employment rates of both men and women in the Netherlands are to some extent the result of a change in the survey design in 1987 which counted many more short part-time jobs. Where female employment rate increases were low the falls in the male employment rate were greater, particularly in Greece, France, Italy and Ireland.

2 The contribution of men and women to changing employment rates, 1983 to 1992



Note: 1987 to 1992 for Spain and Portugal
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1983 -1992

Within each country women also made a clear positive contribution in all cases, even France which had the largest fall in the overall employment rate. Where overall employment rates rose, women's contribution always exceeded that of men but where overall employment rates fell women's positive contribution was insufficient to offset the negative impact of declining male employment (figure 2). In Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg and the UK women's contribution to the employment rate was between three and five percentage points and in the Netherlands the contribution exceeded eight percentage points. In Greece, France, Italy and Ireland the female contribution was between 0.4 and 1.7 percentage points (table 1). In all countries the female contribution was between three and five percentage points greater than the male contribution except in Denmark. In six out of ten countries the male contribution was negative.

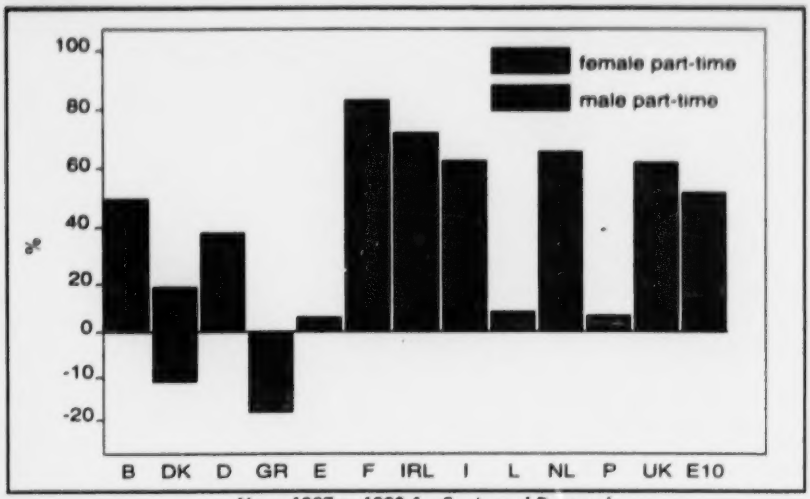
Between 1987 and 1992 the female contribution to changing employment rates again exceeded the male contribution in all 12 countries. In Greece and Denmark, changing female employment rates actually had a slight negative impact (-0.1 and -0.3 percentage points) but this was still less than the negative effect of falling male employment rates (-1 and -1.28 percentage points). Falling male employment rates had a negative effect in seven out of 12 member states. The female contribution exceeded the male contribution in seven of the 12 member states by at least two percentage points and Denmark and Greece were the only countries where the male and female contributions were within a percentage point of each other.

Table 1: European employment rates and the male and female contributions to change, 1983 to 1992

	Contribution to employment rate change 1983 to 1992 (percentage points)			Employment rates
	male	female	total	(1992)
Belgium	-0.74	4.14	3.40	56.6%
Denmark	1.16	3.03	4.20	74.5%
Germany*	0.58	4.74	5.32	67.1%
Greece	-2.31	0.92	-1.39	53.6%
Spain	0.55	2.36	2.92	48.2%
France	-3.22	0.40	-2.82	60.1%
Ireland	-3.46	1.65	-1.81	50.8%
Italy	-2.85	1.40	-1.45	52.8%
Luxembourg	-1.17	3.78	2.62	61.5%
Netherlands	3.85	8.14	11.99	63.7%
Portugal**	0.01	3.22	3.23	65.9%
United Kingdom	0.37	4.75	5.12	68.1%

Notes: * Data refer to former West Germany excluding the new Lander
** Data refer to change between 1987 and 1992
Source Rubery J., Smith M., Fagan C., and Grimshaw D. (1995)

3 The share of all new jobs that were part-time, 1983 to 1992.



Note: 1987 to 1992 for Spain and Portugal
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1983 to 1992

OVER HALF OF ALL NEW JOBS WERE PART-TIME, MOST OF THEM TAKEN BY WOMEN

Part-time work has been a major factor in the growth of women's employment and more importantly the growth of total employment. Part-time work is dominated by women and in 1992 women accounted for 84% of all part-timers in the EU. Although part-time rates vary between member states part-time work has expanded in nearly all countries. Over half of all new jobs created between 1983 and 1992 were part-time (56%) and this was true for men's employment growth (54%) as well as women's (57%). The expansion of part-time employment has not been universal across all member states or for both women and men. Three countries - the Netherlands, Germany and the UK - accounted for over three quarters of all new part-time employment.

IN SOME COUNTRIES PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT RATES FOR WOMEN HAVE ACTUALLY FALLEN

In France, where the employment rate fell by more than any other EU country, female part-time employment growth accounted for three quarters of all new jobs and male part-time jobs a further 18% (figure 3). However, in Denmark, a country with a high share of women in part-time employment, female part-time work actually declined between 1983 and 1992 while for men it rose. Part-time employment in the Southern countries has not developed to same extent as in the Northern countries and in Greece part-time employment fell for both women and men. In Italy the expansion of female part-time jobs accounted for half of all new jobs but the number of net new jobs was very low as there was a large fall in male full-time work.

FEMALE FULL-TIME JOBS HAVE ALSO INCREASED WHILE THE NUMBER OF MALE FULL-TIME JOBS HAS STAGNATED OR DECLINED

Full-time jobs increased for women in all countries while there were declines for men in four out of ten countries. New female full-time jobs accounted for nearly a third of all new jobs for E10 while the increase in male full-time jobs was equal to just over a tenth of all new jobs. In Denmark and Greece new female full-time jobs accounted for 69% and 87% of new jobs respectively and in Italy and Ireland new full-time jobs for women accounted for more than 110% of all new jobs due to large falls in male full-time work. The UK and France were the two other member states to experience a decline in male full-time work over the period. The former West Germany and the Netherlands were the only countries where the share of new male full-time jobs in all new jobs was greater than the share of new full-time jobs for women (36% and 19% compared to 24% and 8% respectively). The former West Germany accounted for 125% of all new full-time jobs for men in the E10 and the UK and the former West Germany accounted for more than half of all new female full-time jobs.

Part-time work cannot be considered the same as full-time work in terms of the volume of work actually carried out even though the intensity of work for part-timers may be greater. Counting employment growth considering all jobs to be equal could give a distorted picture of changing employment rates, particularly in countries where part-time rates are high or part-time jobs have expanded rapidly. Part-timers, on average, work around half the hours of full-timers and halving the number of part-timers can provide a full-time equivalent count of the employment rate growth.

EVEN COUNTING TWO PART-TIME JOBS AS EQUIVALENT TO ONE FULL-TIME JOB, WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO EMPLOYMENT GROWTH HAS BEEN GREATER THAN THAT FOR MEN

Comparing employment rate growth between 1983 and 1992 on a full-time equivalent basis female employment rates have still risen more than male rates but the impact of halving the number of part-timers varies between countries. Women's domination of part-time employment means that their contribution to employment growth is more likely to be affected when considering a full-time equivalent employment rate but even on this basis the contribution of female employment growth still exceeds men's in all countries (figure 4). At the E10 level the full-time equivalent calculation reduced employment rate growth between 1983 and 1992 by just 1.3 percentage points. The greatest reduction in the change in the employment rate was in the Netherlands where measuring the employment rate growth on a full-time equivalent basis reduced the employment rate growth by 5.5 percentage points. In the UK, Germany and Belgium the employment rate increase was more than a percentage point lower but in all other countries the effect was less than a percentage point and in Denmark and Greece the employment rate rose by more as the number of part-time jobs had decreased. For women the full-time equivalent employment rate growth was two percentage points lower at the E10 level and in the Netherlands and the UK employment rates increased by only 8.9 and 6.7 percentage points compared to 16.4 and 9.5 calculated on a headcount basis. In France, the female employment

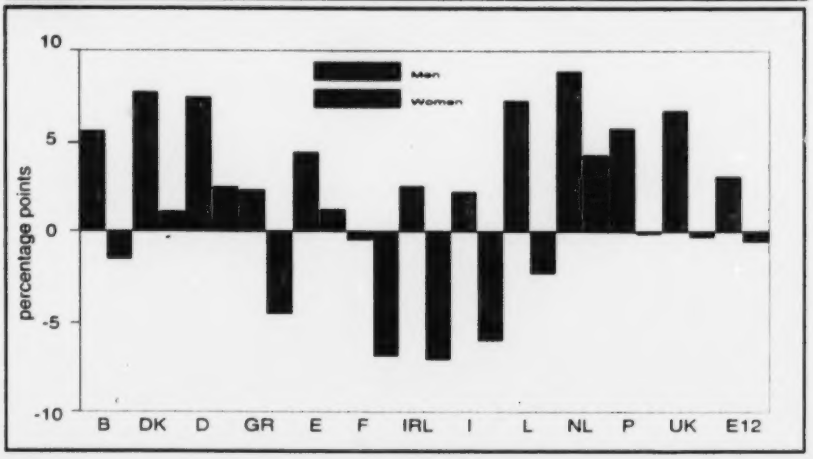
rate actually declined when considered on a full-time equivalent basis because of a significant fall in full-time employment over the period that was only partially offset by the rise in part-time work if hours of work are considered. With this exception women's contribution to employment rate growth was positive in all countries. Male employment rates rose more slowly (three countries) or fell further (six countries) when full-time equivalent and headcount employment rates were considered with Greece the only exception. The Netherlands was the only country where halving the number of new male part-time jobs had a significant impact on the employment rate, reducing it by 3.4 percentage points.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES HAVE ADDED TO WOMEN'S INCREASED SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT

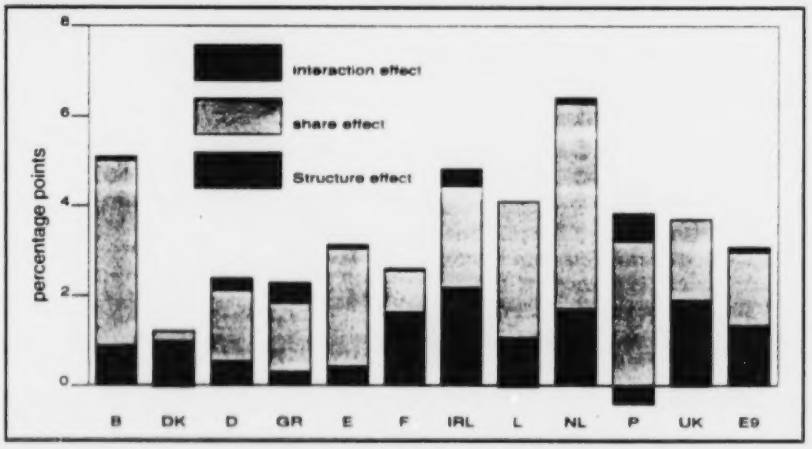
The growth of women's employment can not be separated from the segregated nature of the labour markets in Europe. As we have seen in an earlier bulletin (Bulletin No. 3) women are concentrated in a limited number of occupations and industries and this helps explain their continued discrimination within the labour market. By decomposing the changes in employment we can see what share of the new jobs were the result of different rates of expansion of industrial groups and what share was due to women increasing their share of employment within industrial groups. Between 1983 and 1992 women increased their share of all employment by more than 3 percentage points at the E9 level (that is, excluding Italy as well as Spain and Portugal) and 1.34 percentage points of this was the result of changing industrial structure (figure 5). A greater proportion of women's increased share of employment was due to their increasing share of employment within industries (1.64 percentage points) (0.1 percentage points was due to the interaction between the composition and share effects). Women's increased share of employment within industries had a greater impact on the female share of all employment in six out of nine member states than the changing composition of employment. In France and Denmark structural changes had a more important effect on women's increased share of employment while in the UK the two effects were more equal.

If we consider the change in women's share of employment at the E11 level (excluding Italy) between 1987 and 1992 we find that the share effect was more than twice as important than the structural effect. The effect of women increasing their share of sectors was dominant over compositional changes in ten of the eleven states. The importance of the share effect for women's employment growth does not suggest a more desegregated labour market because women have to a large extent been increasing their shares of sectors that are already female-dominated. More than half of the share effect was the result of women increasing their share of the already female-dominated 'Other Services' sector. Another reason for the importance of the share effect can be found in the different occupations that men and women hold within industries. Male-dominated blue-collar work has been harder hit than white collar work where more women are found. One issue for the future is the impact of technology and productivity gains in the service sector and clerical work in all sectors on women's employment.

4 **Employment rate growth on a full-time equivalent basis, 1983 to 1992[a]**



5 **Decompostion of the net change[b] in the female share of employment, 1983 to 1992[a]**



Note a: 1987 to 1992 for Spain and Portugal.
Note b: structure effect + share effect + interaction effect = change
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1983 to 1992

The obverse of employment is non-employment which includes the unemployed and the inactive. There are distinct gender differences in the patterns of non-employment within and between member states.

WOMEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT RATES ARE HIGHER THAN MEN'S IN 10 OUT OF 12 COUNTRIES

In nearly all EU countries the female unemployment rate exceeds that of men (table 2). It is only in the UK and Ireland that male unemployment rate is greater and even in Ireland the female rate was higher throughout

Table 2: Unemployment and non-employment rates by gender (1992)

	Unemployment rates		Unemployed as a share of the working age population		Inactivity as a share of the working age population	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Belgium	4.8%	9.5%	3.5%	4.7%	28.2%	50.7%
Denmark	8.5%	10.0%	7.3%	7.8%	14.3%	21.8%
Germany'	3.8%/4.9%	4.8%/8.3%	3.1%/4.0%	2.8%/5.1%	18.6/19.1%	41.7/38.9%
Greece	4.9%	12.9%	3.9%	5.5%	23.8%	58.3%
Spain	13.7%	25.3%	10.4%	10.6%	24.0%	58.2%
France	8.2%	12.9%	6.2%	7.6%	24.5%	41.1%
Ireland	15.3%	15.2%	11.7%	6.7%	23.6%	56.6%
Italy	7.0%	13.9%	5.2%	5.9%	25.6%	57.4%
Luxembourg	1.6%	2.8%	1.2%	1.3%	22.4%	52.5%
Netherlands	4.1%	7.8%	3.2%	4.3%	20.6%	44.7%
Portugal	3.5%	4.9%	2.8%	2.9%	20.0%	41.4%
UK	11.7%	7.3%	10.0%	4.8%	14.7%	34.3%
E12'	7.9/8.0%	10.7/11.2%	6.2/6.3%	5.8/6.2%	21.4/21.3%	45.9/45.1%

'Note: data refer to former West Germany /Unified Germany and E12 including /excluding the new Länder.
Source: Rubery, J., Smith, M., Fagan, C. and Grimshaw, D. (1995)

the 1980s. At the European level (E12) 10.6% of the female labour force were unemployed compared to 7.9% of men in 1992. In six of the 12 member states female unemployment rates are at least three percentage points higher than men's. The highest gender gaps are found in three of the Southern member states ranging from 6.8 and eight percentage points in Italy and Greece to Spain where the female unemployment rate is 11.6 percentage points higher than the men's. In four member states - Denmark, Portugal, the former West Germany and Luxembourg - the gender gap between unemployment rates is just over a percentage point. The gender gap for the Unified Germany is 3.4 percentage points compared to just one percentage point for the former West Germany owing to the high level of female unemployment in the new Länder.

The unemployment rate as traditionally measured indicates the share of the active population or labour force who are without work. However, for comparisons between countries or different groups the actual scale of the unemployment problem can be distorted by variations in the activity rate. Unemployment rates as a share of the working age population provide an alternative measure which indicates what proportion of that population are unemployed. On this measure the female unemployment rate remains higher than for men in all countries except for Ireland, the UK and the former West Germany. This demonstrates that the problem of female unemployment has not been exaggerated by lower female activity rates in most countries, for even though fewer women are active, a higher share of the total female working age population faces unemployment in many countries. At the E12 level the female unemployment rate in 1992 was 11.1% as a share of the labour force but 5.8% as a share of the population compared to 7.9% and 6.2% for men. The gender gap is greatly reduced by measuring the unemployed as share of the population at less than two percentage points in all cases where women's unemployment exceeds men's but in the case of Ireland and the UK the male unemployment rates were five percentage points higher.

FEMALE NON-EMPLOYMENT REMAINS CONCENTRATED IN INACTIVITY IN SPITE OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATES.....

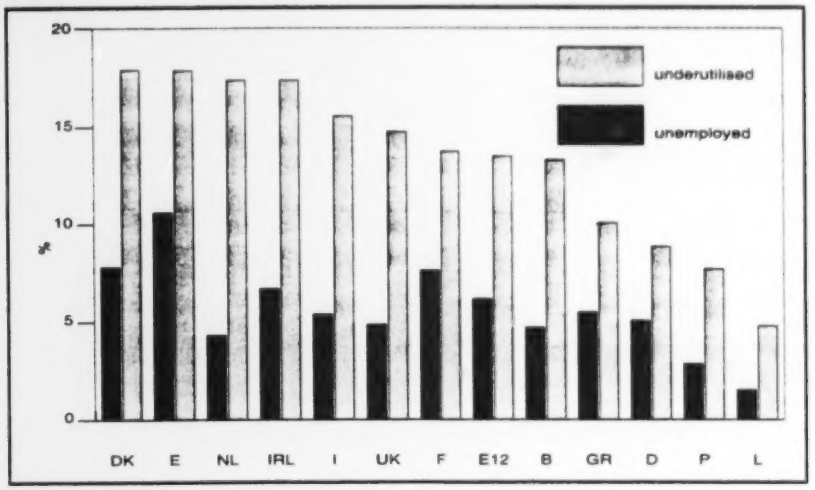
Women not only have higher unemployment rates in nearly all countries but they also have higher inactivity rates in every country. Women's additional role of taking the burden of domestic responsibilities means that in some countries they do not have the option to be a part of the labour market. In all member states, except Denmark, the share of the working age women who are inactive is at least five times the share of those who are unemployed (table 2). In five member states - Belgium, the Netherlands, former West Germany, Greece and Portugal - the ratio of inactive to unemployed women is more than ten and in Luxembourg the ratio is nearly forty to one. Male non-employment tends to be more evenly divided between unemployment and inactivity and in six countries the ratio of inactivity to unemployment is less than five to one. In the countries where the ratio of the male inactive to the unemployed population is higher it is because of low unemployment rates in most cases except in Belgium where there are relatively high levels of male inactivity.

Female inactivity rates vary as widely as female employment rates with only 22% of the female working age population being inactive in Denmark compared to nearly two thirds in Spain and Greece and over half in Italy, Ireland, Belgium and Luxembourg. The inactivity rate for women in Denmark is actually lower than for men in Belgium, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland and Italy. At the E12 level 46% of working age women were inactive compared to 21% of men in 1992.

.....BUT THE NUMBER OF INACTIVE WOMEN HAS FALLEN FASTER THAN THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED WOMEN

Many of the new jobs in the 1980s were taken by women who were outside the labour market and not included in the unemployment figures. The source of the female labour reserve can be illustrated by

6 The share of the female working age population who are unemployed and underutilised[a], 1992.



Note a: Underutilised persons are those searching for work, wanting work and part-timers wanting full-time jobs.
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1992

the relative stability of the E10 female unemployment rate despite a rise in the employment rate (as a share of the population) only fell from 5.4% to 5.2% while the inactivity rate fell from 50.4% to 44.4% and, as we have already seen, the employment rate rose by 6.2 percentage points. In all member states inactivity rates for women fell between 1983 and 1992, and in Spain and Portugal between 1987 and 1992, by at least two percentage points. In six countries female inactivity rates fell by more than five percentage points, and in two - the former West Germany and the UK - by more than eight points. These patterns mean that not only are the number of women who want to work underestimated but also openly unemployed women face additional competition from inactive women who also want to work.

INACTIVITY RATES HAVE RISEN FOR MEN ALONGSIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

Male working age inactivity rates rose in seven out of ten member states between 1983 and 1992 and in Spain and Portugal between 1987 and 1992. At the E10 level male inactivity rates rose from 18.6% in 1983 to 21.1% in 1992. In some countries there has been an increase in the number of early retirement schemes to encourage some people, mainly men, to move out of the labour market and this may explain some of the increase in inactivity among men of working age. Even for the core working age group of 25-49 year olds there has been a rise in male inactivity in all member states, particularly in Ireland and Italy, which may be better explained by workers being discouraged from seeking employment than by early retirement schemes.

CURRENT MEASURES OF UNEMPLOYMENT UNDERESTIMATE FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT

The level of women's unemployment, in the sense of the share of the female population potentially available for work, is clearly greater than the estimated 5.8% of the working age population. In many cases the female unemployment rate has actually risen at the same time as employment has expanded as the effect has been to draw more women into the labour market. To try and provide a better estimate of the size of the female labour reserve we have calculated an underutilisation rate of the working age population. The underutilisation rate includes; all persons who were searching for work, though they may not be included in the actual unemployment count; persons who wanted to work but who were not searching for work; and those who worked part-time but wanted a full-time job.

At the E12 level women's underutilisation rate was 13.5% (as a share of the population) compared to an unemployment rate of 6.2% (including the unified Germany) while men's rates were 9.7% and 6.3% respectively (figure 6). Only in Germany, Luxembourg and Portugal did women's underutilisation rate fall below 10% of the working age population and in five countries - Denmark, Spain, Ireland, Italy and the Netherlands - the rate exceeded 15%. In seven of the 12 countries the male underutilisation rate was below 10% of the working age population. Ireland was the only country where the male underutilisation rate rose above 15% and the female rate was lower.

Women's unemployment is higher not only because of discrimination and fewer opportunities in the labour market but also because women are more likely to be involved in flows between different activity statuses. We have already seen evidence of how women often move from inactivity into employment in some countries missing out the unemployed stage.

UNEMPLOYED WOMEN ARE MORE LIKELY TO MOVE INTO INACTIVITY THAN MEN AND SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY TO MOVE INTO EMPLOYMENT

The share of unemployed women who one year later were in employment was lower than the share for men in eight of the 12 countries in 1992. At the E12 level 33% of unemployed men found work within a year while only 28% of women made the transition. In Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg and the UK more women made the transition into employment. Women in Greece, Spain and Portugal were particularly disadvantaged compared to men with at least 10 percentage points difference between the share of unemployed men and women managing to find work. Although women are less likely to move from unemployment to employment they are more likely to move into inactivity from unemployment. In every country (no data for Luxembourg) a greater share of unemployed women moved into inactivity than men. In Belgium, Italy, the former West Germany and the Netherlands over a third of unemployed women were inactive one year later.

Women are also more likely than men to move out of employment into non-employment. In seven countries, the share of employed females who were non-employed a year later was two percentage points greater than for men. Even when considering unemployment and inactivity separately female flows are higher than men's except for flows into unemployment in Ireland and the UK.

SWEDEN: RECENT TIGHTENING OF ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT SITUATION STIMULATES FIGHTS FOR WAGE JUSTICE

For the first time since the early 1960s, the female labour force participation rate decreased slightly during the 1990s. The female unemployment rate has continued to rise to record levels while the rate for men, which still exceeds that for women has begun to decrease. These trends link to crises in the economy and recovery programme. Despite an improved economic situation during 1995, the unemployment rate is forecast to remain high and plans for considerable reductions in the public sector will hit women's employment hard. However, in 1995 women have also signalled their determination to fight for better wages. Two female-dominated unions (nurses and municipal employees) have taken strike action and the Labour Court recently found in favour of a woman seeking the same remuneration as a male colleague for performing a job of equal value.

FRANCE: NEW PUBLICATION ON GENDER AND EQUALITY IN AND BEYOND THE WORKPLACE

In preparation for the World Conference in Beijing, France organised a major conference in March 1995 which has given rise to a publication that is unique of its kind. 'La place des femmes', comprising over 100 contributions from 18 countries, reports on the existing research on the relationships between men and women. The analytical framework and the discussion of theoretical and policy issues are based on a dualistic feminist perspective: the construction of masculine and feminine identities in various cultures, and gender power relationships and equality demands in the spheres of politics, education, family and work. The richness and diversity of the contributions will ensure it becomes a reference work for researchers and non-specialists alike.

EPHESIA, La place des femmes, les enjeux de l'identité et de l'égalité au regard des sciences sociales, La Découverte, 1996, 740 p.

GREECE: UNIT FORMED TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

In 1995, the Centre for Research on Equality, in collaboration with the General Secretariat on Equality and with the support of the EU and its NOW initiative, formed an information unit on women's employment and vocational training. The unit will give information on employment, vocational training, employment relationships, community facilities, and legislation. This will be the first time that such information has been brought under one roof, and as well as throwing light on problems relating to women's employment and vocational training, will also provide an extremely useful tool for policy making, careers guidance and project evaluation.

Further information on website WWW.KETHI.GR

FINLAND: THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF WAGE DISCRIMINATION IS FOUND IN SCANDINAVIA.

Women form about half of the employed labour force in Finland and most are in full-time employment. Nevertheless, women still earn on average around 25% less than men. A substantially larger male-female wage differential is found among non-manual workers in private sector manufacturing though it has narrowed markedly (45% in 1994 as compared to close to 62% in 1980). More than half of this gap is attributable to wage discrimination (i.e., not to differences in the background characteristics of male and female non-manual workers), a share which has remained roughly unchanged over the past 15 years. Moreover, of the Nordic countries, Finland has the highest degree of wage discrimination. The key explanatory factors underlying these findings have not yet been unravelled.

Asplund, R., Barth, E. N. Smith & Wadensjö, E. (1996) 'The male-female wage gap in the Nordic countries' in N. Westergård-Nielsen (ed), Wage differentials in the Nordic countries, North-Holland (forthcoming).

PORTUGAL: PROSPECTS FOR FEMALE EMPLOYMENT

A recent report predicts that the female activity rate will continue to grow over the next few years though this development is likely to be uneven across sectors. A decrease in employment in agriculture and in other sectors such as banking and insurance and an increase in personal services and activities with a heavy scientific and technological bias are predicted. The report shows that if the bi-polar structure of female educational qualifications remains as it is, there will be greater opportunities for qualified female employment and increased competition for unskilled jobs for women. Investment in strategic training schemes is seen as essential. The report suggests that female employment is also promoted by setting greater store by social and economic models which are specific to Portuguese culture and history to enhance the identity of women, their knowledge and skills.

Silva, M. & Perista, H. (1995) As Portuguesas e a União Europeia - Prospectiva para a Acção, - Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres, Cadernos da Condição Feminina, no. 44, Lisboa.

UNITED KINGDOM: COMPULSORY COMPETITIVE TENDERING OF SERVICES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT TARGETS WOMEN

Since the introduction of national legislation in 1988, job cuts, loss of earnings and working-time caused by competitive tendering of local government services have been most strongly experienced by female manual employees. A recent study shows that, for a selection of occupations across a sample of local authorities, women held 93% of all employment contracts subject to tender between 1989 and 1993. In total, full-time and part-time manual workers suffered job reductions of 25% and 11% respectively during this period. For those remaining in employment, the negative impact on pay, both in terms of basic rates and additional payments, was also most strongly experienced in the female-dominated services. Many women employed as cleaners, for example, lost up to a third of their weekly earnings due to the abolition of bonus payments. The continuation of such policies will further undermine employment opportunities in the public sector and thus weaken women's relative position in the labour market.

Escott, K. & Whitfield, D. (1995) 'The gender impact of CCT in local government', EOC Research Discussion Series.

ITALY: TIME AS A GENDER ISSUE UNDER DISCUSSION IN PARLIAMENT

Last February, a group of Italian female senators presented a single piece of legislation that argues that time is a resource which should be available to women and men so that they have time for care, time for work and time for themselves. The conception and organisation of work, social life and time has to change if we are to move towards a utilization of time which does not force choices between family life, paid work and personal time. The proposal includes innovations in three main areas: time over the life cycle, time in working life, and time in urban life. Specifically, they argue that time spent on care activities should be recognised as socially useful and that workers should have the right to paid leave for family reasons; that through a reduction in the working week to 35 hours and different forms of working time scheduling, both men and women should have more time for care activities and women should have more time for themselves; and that by women's direct involvement in a collective forum which coordinates opening times of services (e.g. banks, schools, shops) a more efficient and humanised urban life can be achieved.

LUXEMBOURG: RECENT STUDY OF WOMEN'S DIVISION OF TIME BETWEEN HOME-BASED TASKS AND OUTSIDE WORK

Women are entering the labour market in increasing numbers, their participation rate rising by 4.5% per annum between 1990 and 1994. Of economically active women 21% work part-time and 44% have children. A study by Aubrun found that women who combine paid work with raising a family virtually work a double day (11 hours 20 minutes), given that women in the sample spend an average of 5 hours 50 minutes per day on domestic and family tasks. While women with outside work are helped by their partners, the distribution of domestic tasks remains highly gendered and traditional. Paradoxically, women who receive most help from their spouses are not working mothers but working women without children. Only 13% of women use outside help (paid help in 9 out of 10 cases) but the proportion rises among women with higher education levels (70% of whom work).

Aubrun, A. (1995) Le budget temps des femmes: l'opinion des femmes, CEPS INSTEAD, Document PSELL, no. 62.

The New Member States

In 1995 the European Union expanded from 12 to 15 member states with Sweden, Finland and Austria joining the Union. These three new member states bring new labour market models to the EU and increase the diversity between member states.

In all three new member states women have employment rates at least eight percentage points above the E12 average. Austria had a high female employment rate (56.8%) in 1992 slightly higher than in the Unified Germany (56%). The low employment rate problem that characterises most EU states is not found in Sweden with a female employment rate of 76.1%, higher than in Denmark and higher than the male rates in nine of the 12 member states in 1992. Finland had a female employment rate of 60.4% similar to that in the UK in 1992.

Labour Market indicators for Women in the New Member states, E12' and E15' (1992).

	Austria	Sweden	Finland	E12'	E15'
Employment Rate'	56.8%	76.1%	60.4%	48.8%	49.8%
Part-time rate	17.3%	41.2%	9.8%	29.1%	28.7%
Unemployment rate	3.3%	4.7%	10.5%	11.1%	10.8%

'Note: E12/15 including the new German Länder. Source: Employment in Europe 1995

Part-time rates in the new member states vary greatly. In Sweden more than two fifths of women work part-time similar to the share in the UK (44%) but lower than in the Netherlands (66%). In spite of the relatively high female employment rate in Austria, the share of women who work in part-time jobs is quite low (17.3%) more similar to member states with lower female employment rates such as Spain and Luxembourg. In Finland the part-time rate is just 9.8% below that in Portugal and only higher than in Greece.

In 1992 Austria had a low unemployment rate at just 3.3%, with the female rate just slightly higher than the male rate (3.3% compared to 3.2%). Even by 1994 the recession had not pushed the unemployment rates up to levels seen in the rest of Europe with the male rate climbing above the female rate, 4% compared 3.7%. Until the early 1990s Sweden also had a very low unemployment rate at only 1.8% in 1990 but the recession pushed unemployment up to 9.8% in 1994, 11.2% for men and 8.2% for women. Of all the Scandinavian economies Finland suffered the most from the 1990s recession with unemployment rising faster than in any other country from 3.4% in 1990 to 18.4% in 1994. Unemployment rates have so far risen more for men than for women, 4% to 19.9% for men compared 2.8% to 16.7% for women.

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Commission of the European Communities Directorate-General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs.

Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU

No. 7 October 1995

The European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market researches into women's employment for the Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission. Each year the network investigates a particular aspect of women's employment and the results are published in a synthesis report drawing on individual national reports. The information bulletin is produced twice a year and the series provides information on key developments in women's employment in the European Union plus some topical items of news and research from the member states.

TIME IS A GENDER ISSUE

Women divide their time between domestic and wage work but men still concentrate on wage work. This division of time takes place not only on a daily and weekly basis but also over the life course. Women's dual obligation or double burden underpins their disadvantage in the labour market. Taking time out to have children results in heavy penalties as women lose their place in the labour market hierarchy. But even those who remain in wage work find that their domestic responsibilities, whether actual or presumed, restrict their chances of moving up the labour market ladder.

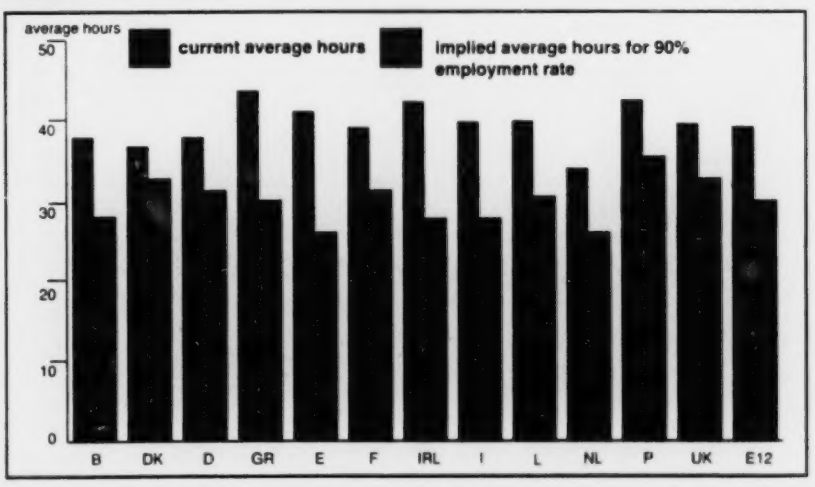
Unequal labour in the home leads to unequal jobs in the labour market

Women find it hard to fit into male work schedules. Yet if they demand different time schedules they provide employers with a justification for differentiation and segregation of the labour force by gender. Part-time work may appear to provide part of the answer at least for some people, but part-time work may reinforce, not reduce, gender divisions both within and outside the home. Full-time work is still the main route to a satisfactory employment career but entry into employment on male terms requires constant juggling of home and domestic responsibilities, or coping with an unsatisfactory home and personal life.

These problems increase if women find themselves working where there is no collective regulation of time, and where flexible hours are organised to suit customers and the company and not the needs of employees. Family life is being squeezed by the pressures placed on both men and women to work outside standard working hours and to fit with employers' demands for more flexible deployment of labour.

Under these conditions, what can be considered the prospects for a new gender contract, for a more appropriate and rational division of labour, both wage and non wage between the sexes? And must the need for a new gender contract wait until the ending of recession and the resolution of the unemployment issue?

1 **The impact on average weekly hours of redistributing the current volume of labour hours to achieve a 90% employment rate, all persons aged 20 - 59 years**



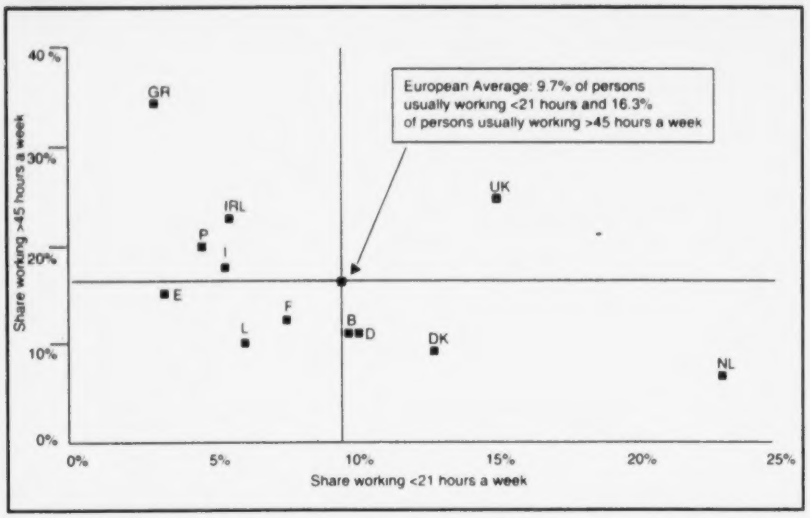
Note: Analysis does not take account of differences in statutory holidays.
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

GENDER EQUALITY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT; COMPLEMENTARY OR COMPETITIVE OBJECTIVES OF THE EU?

At the Essen summit in December 1994 the Council of Ministers concluded that the two paramount objectives of the EU were the fight against unemployment and the promotion of equal treatment between women and men. Should these be regarded as complementary or competitive objectives?

Gender equality requires a new division of work and a new division of time. But so too does the fight against unemployment. The EU has for some time recognised that the

2 **Over and underworking among all persons in employment, 1991**



Note: Usual hours may differ from contracted or actual hours in the week of the survey.
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

European employment problem is not confined to finding jobs for the unemployed. There is an equal need to raise the share of the working age population in employment. In practical terms this means increasing the share of women in work. While the search goes on for finding new ways to increase the total quantity of work available, attention also turns to finding new ways of redistributing existing work, and to new working-time arrangements to enhance competitiveness as well as to increase the employment rate.

Progress towards gender equality requires a more equal distribution of wage and non wage work; but progress towards a higher employment rate in Europe also requires further integration of women into the wage economy. No less than twenty-five million out of the thirty million jobs created in the EU since 1961 have been taken by women.

If labour hours were shared out equally, 90% of working age citizens could work for around 30 hours per week...

Figure 1 shows that in 1991 the total volume of labour hours worked in the EU by the core age group of 20 to 59 year old adults, would have been sufficient, **in theory**, to provide 90% of European citizens within this age band with work of around 30 hours a week. A redistribution of paid work so that all adults were employed for around 30 hours per week would provide a good starting point for a renegotiation of the domestic division of labour.

But of course the problem cannot be solved so easily. Some countries have much lower employment rates, and thus a smaller quantity of labour hours to redistribute. Even if it was possible to resolve the income redistribution issues that follow from a more even distribution of working hours, there would still be obstacles to redistribution. Not all jobs can be easily redivided and reorganised into short full-time work, nor are all persons interchangeable and equally skilled. And any major reorganisation of work would undoubtedly lead employers to search for more efficient working practices, resulting in the reduction, at least in the short term, of the total quantity of working hours available, and perhaps resulting also in an increase in unsocial hours working.

Uneven working hours - involving both very long and very short hours - present further obstacles to redistribution

Whatever the practical and political obstacles to work redistribution and working-time reorganisation, calculating how many hours everyone could work focuses attention on the possibility of a more balanced and fair distribution of work between all citizens - including a more balanced distribution between men and women.

Such calculations also provide a basis against which to contrast the actual distribution of work within EU member states. Here we find not only uneven patterns of work distribution between those with and those without work, but also strong, and in some cases, increasing unevenness in the distribution of working time for those in work. Unbalanced working patterns, where some work very long hours and some very short hours, inevitably intensify the problems of establishing a fairer distribution of work. Very long hours not only reduce work opportunities for all but also conflict with personal and family needs, and prevent the development of a more equitable domestic division of labour. Very short hours of work, on the other hand, are associated with the creation of marginal, often deskilled and unstable jobs which are not providing the basis for full integration into the employment system.

These unbalanced forms of work are still frequent within the EU: over a quarter of all those in employment in the EU work either over 45 hours a week or 20 hours or fewer. By and large it is men who work the very long hours and women who work the very short hours, although as we saw in Bulletin no.5 the share of women working long hours in some countries (Greece, Portugal) exceeds that share of men working long hours in Denmark, Germany and the Benelux countries.

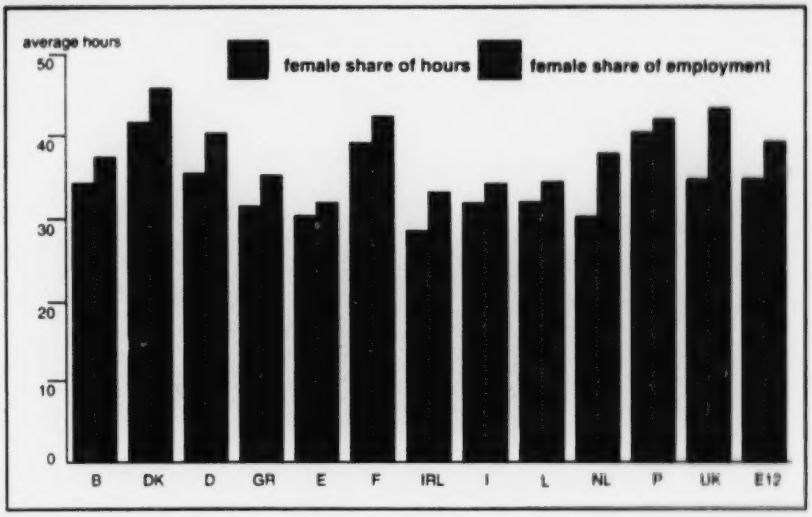
The pattern of long and short hours working in fact varies dramatically by member state, resulting in major differences in working hours for both men and for women according to the labour market in which they are employed. Figure 2 shows the shares of long and short hours working in the member states relative to the average for the EU.

Three countries stand out as diverging from the EU average, although each has its own particular pattern. At one extreme there is the Netherlands where working hours in general tend to be short, with few working long hours of work and many working short hours. At the other extreme is Greece where working hours tend to be long on average, with few people working short hours and many long hours. The final country is the UK, with a pattern strongly divergent from the average but also an extremely unbalanced distribution of working hours, with high shares working both long and short hours.

Women's share of total working hours is even lower than their share of the labour force...

If any move is to be made towards a more balanced distribution of work by gender in the EU to underpin a new gender order, member states would be taking off from very different starting positions. A more egalitarian gender order would require both a higher share of women having access to employment, and a more equal distribution of working hours for those in work. Figure 3 illustrates current deficiencies in reaching both of these targets by showing the female

3 The female share of employment and share of hours in the European Union, 1991



Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

share of employment and the female share of total labour hours. Progress is being made towards gender equality in employment shares, with women accounting for over 40% of employment in five countries (Denmark, Germany, France, Portugal and the UK), but there is much further to go to even up the distribution of total working hours. Women account for on average 35% of working hours compared to 39% of employment, with the female share exceeding 40% of all labour hours only in Denmark and Portugal, followed closely by France (39%).

Most of the gender gap in average working hours is caused by differences in men and women's involvement in self employment and part-time employment

What factors account for the wider gender gaps in total working hours than those found in gender employment shares? Much the most important factors are differences in the importance of self employment and in part-time work. Hours of the self employed tend to be very long for both men and women, but as men are more concentrated in self employment, countries with high shares of self employment tend to have a larger gender gap in working time distribution. Similarly part-time work is a primarily female phenomenon but even countries with similar female shares of the labour force have very different ratios of part-time working.

In contrast, differences in usual hours between male and female full-time employees is not the main source of gender differences in working time. Although male full-time employees work on average longer hours than female full-timers in all countries the gap is under two hours in six countries and less than 3.5 hours in all countries except the UK where it stands at 5.1 hours (see box). The large gender gap in the UK is the result of men working very long hours. Indeed, women full-timers work longer average hours in the UK (40.1) than in any other member state. In some countries a gender gap between full-time employees' hours is associated with different norms or standards by sectors; for example Italy has a gender gap of 3.2 hours for full-timers probably associated with the setting of lower standard hours in the public sector where women are concentrated.

The gender gap in average hours opens up once part-timers and the self employed are included alongside full-timers: ranging from just under four hours in Spain and Portugal to over ten hours in Ireland, the Netherlands and the UK.

Denmark has achieved a more even distribution of working hours through shorter hours for men... and Portugal through longer hours for women

These differences in factors affecting the distribution of working hours mean that countries can move towards relative equality in working hours along differing trajectories. For example, Denmark and Portugal both

Regulations affecting weekly working hours of full-time employees

Countries ranked by average male full-time weekly hours	Statutory limits on basic weekly hours[1] (lower collectively agreed limits)	Average weekly hours of full-time employees		Average weekly hours for all in employment	
		Male	Gender gap (male - female)	Male	Gender gap (male - female)
Belgium	40 (38 in large firms)	38.5	1.6	40.6	6.8
Denmark	- (37)	38.9	1.3	38.0	6.2
The Netherlands	48 (38)	39.1	0.8	37.3	11.6
Italy	48 (40 private sector, 36 public sector)	39.8	3.2	41.5	4.9
Germany (West)	48 (37.7)	40	0.7	41.2	7.9
France	39	40.4	1.7	41.9	6.2
Luxembourg	40	40.4	2.1	42.0	6.0
Spain	40 (37.5 public sector)	40.9	1.3	42.3	3.7
Greece	48[2]	41.0	2.2	45.2	4.3
Ireland	48[3]	41.7	3.4	46.0	10.1
Portugal	44 blue collar (40-44) 42 white collar (35-40)	42.7	2.9	44.1	3.9
United Kingdom	- (37-39 blue collar, 34-38 white collar)	45.2	5.1	44.8	14.2
EUR12	48[4]	41.1	2.3	42.1	8.0

Notes:
1. In the ten member states with statutory limits on basic weekly hours daily hours are also limited to between 7 and 10 hours and statutory limits on overtime also exist.
2. A maximum working week of 40 hours for private sector workers and of 37.5 hours for public sector workers was introduced in 1984. However, working hours can still be extended to 48 per week or 9 per day at the sole discretion of employers.
3. Irish statutory limits cover industrial and retail sectors only.
4. EU Directive on the organisation of working time

Source: European Labour Force Survey, 1991; Rubery, Fagan and Smith 1995 *Changing Patterns of Work and Working-time in the European Union and the Impact on Gender Divisions*, Report for the Equal Opportunities Unit, European Commission, Brussels.

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have achieved high female shares of employment and of working hours, but Portugal has done this through long working hours for both men and women, as employees and as self employed. Denmark, meanwhile, has achieved this through relatively short hours of full-time work for both sexes, and through part-time jobs involving relatively long hours of work even if still less than full-time. While the female share of employment is similar in France and the UK, the UK has a much lower female share of working hours owing to three factors: very long hours of work for men, higher shares of part-time work for women and within these part-time jobs a higher share of short marginal jobs.

Time is a gender issue... but labour market institutions can modify the gender influence on working time

Women do the bulk of the domestic work across Europe while men are generally expected to take the greater responsibility for household wage income, yet this similar gender division of responsibilities results in quite different patterns of time spent in wage work for both sexes in different member states. These differences arise because labour market institutions act as an important mediating influence on the extent of gender differences in working time. The gender gap in average hours is likely to be smaller where there is a strong system of working-time regulation which sets a ceiling on standard full-time hours as well as controlling the use of overtime and part-time work, and where these regulations cover a high proportion of the workforce. In contrast, the gender gap in average paid hours of work is likely to be greater where the hours worked by employees are only weakly regulated or where a large share of the economy is organised on a self employed basis.

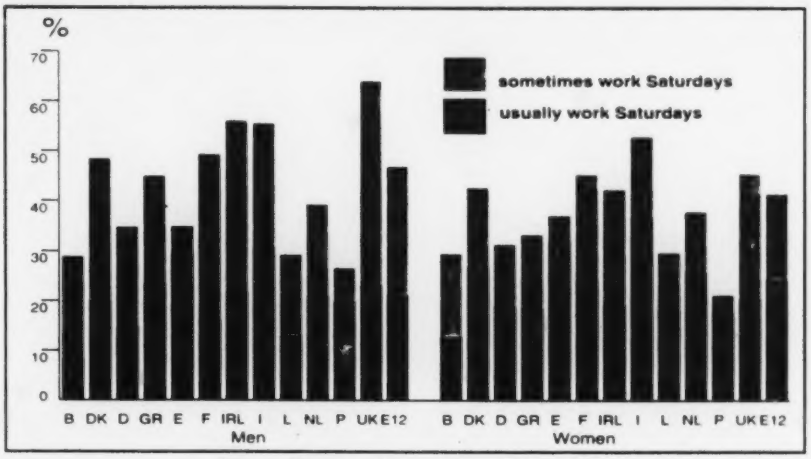
It is the impact of these different national labour market features which help to explain the particularly large gender gaps in average paid hours of work which are found in the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands (see box). A large part of the gender gap in the UK is explained by the weak regulation of full-time and overtime hours. The UK has no national statutory limits on working time. Furthermore, collective voluntary regulation is very weak in the UK, unlike the situation in Denmark, which also has no working time legislation, but has strong collective regulation over working hours. In addition to the long full-time hours found in the UK, a high share of women work part-time (44%). In Ireland full-time employees work fewer hours than in the UK, reflecting a stronger system of regulation, but the length of the average week for men increases by nearly five hours once the large share of men who are self employed are taken into account. Full-time hours are strongly regulated in the Netherlands around a norm of 38 hours per week, which is much shorter than in the UK and Ireland. The main cause of the gender gap in this country is the high share of employed women who work part-time (59%), which results in low average hours for women.

Labour market regulation could be regarded as forcing women to conform to a male standard of working time, preventing the development of more flexible alternatives which recognise responsibilities outside as well as inside the labour market. The limited availability of part-time work - as for example in the Southern countries - may, for example, be regarded as reducing the share of women in employment by forcing a decision to either opt in to full-time continuous work or opt out of the labour market.

But the notion that strong regulation restricts and weak regulation assists women in their integration of the labour market may be called into question by two factors. Firstly, comparing across the EU countries there is no systematic relationship between high shares of part-time work and high female participation (see Bulletin no. 1). Secondly, reductions in full-time standard hours seem to be primarily achieved in labour markets with strong systems of regulation. Where labour market regulation is weak, actual working hours are long and even increasing, preventing further progress towards a new gender order. This does not mean that there is no problem in conforming to a single labour market norm based around continuous and full-time work, nor that diversity in employment relationships will not be needed for a new order of gender equity - but it does suggest that deregulation will not be sufficient or even appropriate to bring about new patterns of working time compatible with gender equity in the home and the labour market.

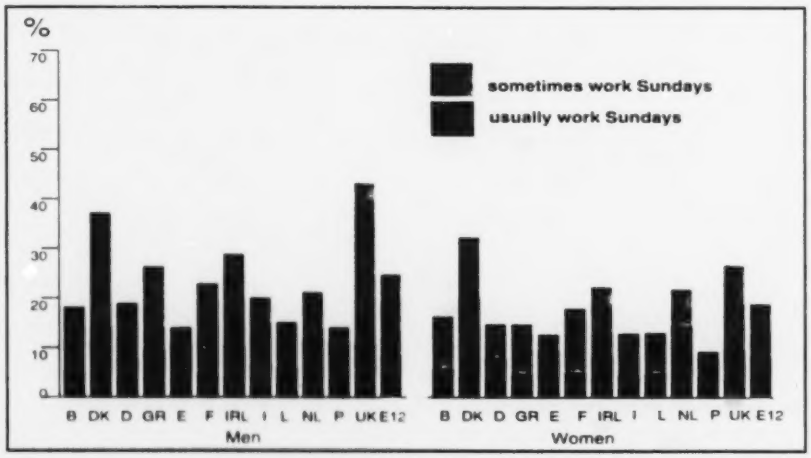
4 Regular and occasional weekend work by employees, 1992

a) Saturdays



Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

b) Sundays



Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

WILL CURRENT WORKING-TIME POLICIES ACCENTUATE OR REDUCE GENDER DIFFERENCES?

Changes to working time and working-time patterns are very much on the agenda of all countries' labour market policies. These policies are apparently targeted at both increasing flexibility in European labour markets in order to improve competitiveness, and at raising the employment rate through policies which involve some elements of work sharing or reduce the distinctions between those in and those out of work. To what extent are these policies opening up opportunities for greater female employment and for greater gender equity?

Moves towards more flexible work schedules are certainly likely to have gender effects. Flexibility of working time can be considered to involve both irregular and/or unsocial hours. Men and women both contribute to flexible working-time arrangements but often through different mechanisms. Thus men tend to be more involved in night work and in shift work than women, and to work at weekends on overtime rates; while women may be more likely to work weekends as part of scheduled work in the services sector, and to provide sources of irregular and flexible working time through their involvement in part-time work and other atypical employment forms.

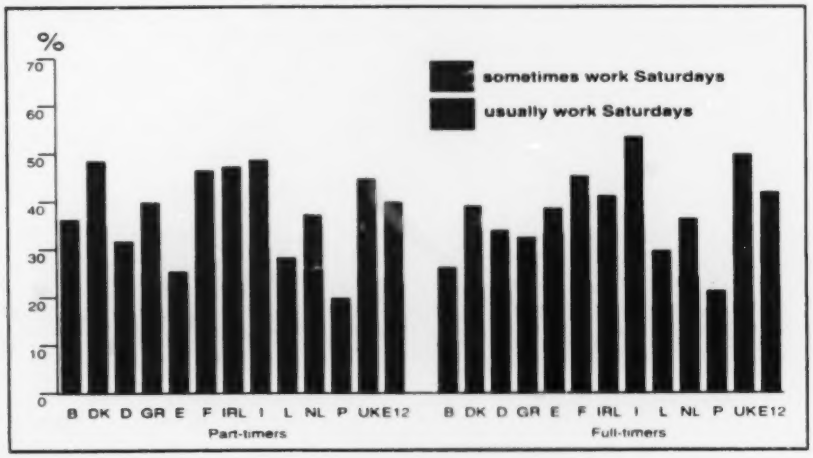
Women are more likely to work weekends as part of their regular working time schedule, while men provide cover through overtime...

Despite differences between member states, these patterns are born out by data on "unsocial hours" working. Women are more likely than men to work Saturdays on a regular basis in every country except Greece, Portugal and the UK, while men are more likely to work Saturdays on an occasional or irregular basis in every country (figure 4a). There is little difference by gender in the amount of regular Sunday work, except it is more common for women in Denmark and for men in Greece. But again, men are generally more likely to work Sundays on a casual or occasional basis (figure 4b). Data by sector reveals that women are particularly likely to work weekends when employed in agriculture and service sectors, especially regular Saturday work in hotels and catering and in retail. In contrast the share of men employed on weekend work is relatively high in all sectors (see data appendix). These patterns are consistent with men working weekends as overtime, while women work weekends when employed in sectors where weekend work is an essential part of the schedule.

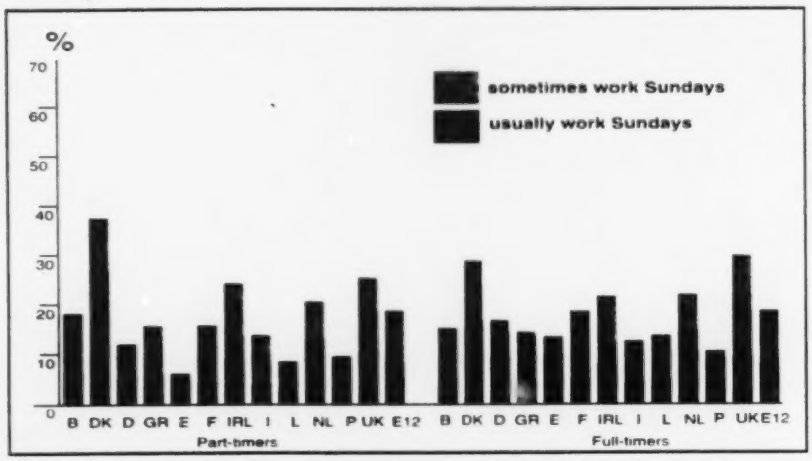
Looking at the overall proportion of work schedules which involve some weekend work - whether regular or occasional - we find that the gender differences within countries are generally small (5 percentage points or less). The main exception is the UK, due probably to the high incidence of male overtime. By contrast, the country differences are much greater, reflecting the influence of national regulations and cultural norms surrounding weekend work.

5 Regular and occasional weekend work by female full and part-time employees, 1992.

a) Saturdays



b) Sundays



Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

...and more part-timers do regular weekend work in some countries than in others

It is well known that part-time work is more common in the Northern than the Southern countries, but when women work part-time are they more or less likely to work at weekends compared to women with full-time jobs? Considering regular and occasional weekend work together we see national differences rather than a general tendency across the member states. Thus more part-timers than full-timers are involved in Saturday work in Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Ireland (figure 5a). In contrast more full-timers have schedules which involve Saturday work in Spain, Italy, Luxembourg and the UK, with only small differences elsewhere (3 percentage points or less). Turning to Sunday work, again we find it is in Belgium and Denmark where part-timers are more commonly involved than full-timers, while the reverse is found for Germany, the UK, the Netherlands and Spain (figure 5b).

In most countries part-timers and full-timers are involved in a similar amount of occasional Saturday and Sunday work. The exceptions are the UK, where women part-timers are less involved than either women full-timers or all types of male employees.

and Spain, where irregular Saturday work is prevalent among part-timers. Thus, the overall differences we find in the amount of weekend work by full-timers and part-timers are mainly accounted for by differences in the extent to which they are involved in weekend work on a regular basis.

Part-timers work more Saturdays on a regular basis than full-timers in Belgium, Denmark, Ireland and the UK (5 percentage points or more difference), while regular Saturday work is more common for full-timers in Spain and Italy (figure 5a). Turning to regular Sunday work there are fewer differences by employment status, but part-timers do more regular Sunday work than full-timers in Denmark and less in Germany and Spain (figure 5b). Clearly the way in which the work schedules of part-time and full-time jobs are organised across the week is similar in some countries but differs markedly in others, particularly with regard to regular Saturday work.

When women work unsocial and irregular hours they are less likely to receive extra compensation...

The different ways in which men and women engage in flexible and unsocial hours working have considerable cost implications for employers. Where cover for unsocial hours is provided by part-timers, or where part-timers work extra hours over contracted hours, the employer is much less likely to pay unsocial hours or overtime premia. Similarly where weekend work is scheduled as part of the normal working week it is less likely to attract premium rates, although this will vary by member state and by sector, according to the details of the collective agreement, for example. Where extra or unsocial hours are worked as overtime, they are more likely to be rewarded by premia or by enhanced periods of leave.

Current labour market policies in many countries are providing employers with greater freedom to require workers to provide flexible and unsocial hours as part of their normal working time requirements. These changes will affect both women and men. To the extent that these changes will involve a switch from overtime to scheduled work, the main group to be affected may be men, but these changes may involve, for example, higher guaranteed salaries as compensation for loss of overtime pay. Where increasing flexibility involves greater use of part-time work, more women are likely to be involved and with little compensation for their provision of unsocial or flexible hours working.

CURRENT LABOUR MARKET PRIORITIES EMPHASISE FLEXIBILITY OVER WORK SHARING

Men as well as women are likely to be affected by current policies to encourage flexibility. As yet there is little evidence that the current thrust of labour market policies is likely to bring about a new gender order, involving a more equitable distribution of wage work, domestic work and access to income. Indeed some of the tendencies of current labour market policies may be identified as likely to intensify rather than reduce current levels of gender differentiation and inequality, while at the same time involving an ever increasing share of men and women in unsocial and irregular hours, with all the negative consequences of such working arrangements for a satisfying social and family life. These tendencies include:

- *according a higher priority to flexibility over work sharing, thereby reducing the extent to which changes in working time are likely to generate increased working opportunities for both men and women;*
- *rejection of policies to reduce standard working hours in order to avoid income compensation claims, but acceptance of more widespread part-time work, through which women effectively bear the burden of income sharing;*
- *an emphasis on employer-oriented flexibility, and not on rights for employees to vary working hours to meet domestic needs;*
- *the decoupling of opening or operating hours from standard working-time arrangements, thereby paving the way for the use of more flexible working-time arrangements and unsocial hours working;*
- *the provision of greater scope to companies to introduce new working-time arrangements, to offset any reductions in standard working hours or restrictions on overtime;*
- *the removal of fiscal disincentives to atypical or part-time work and the extension of rights to atypical workers, but with those moving into part-time from full-time work or unemployment (mainly men) sometimes enjoying greater rights than those moving in from inactivity (mainly women).*

A new gender contract is not yet on the agenda - instead policy-makers still fall back on the assumption that they can treat women workers as having a secondary claim on income and employment

The gender implications of new labour market policy initiatives are complex and not all in one direction. For example, in order to make part-time work more acceptable, some countries have made considerable progress in extending rights for part-time workers. Similarly some countries have made it easier for women to take breaks out of the labour market by extending leave entitlements and providing improved carers' allowances. However, these measures also have a double edge to them; they may reinforce the male breadwinner model and encourage women to become primary carers as a partial solution to the unemployment problem.

What is clear is that the main objective behind most member states' new labour market policies is not to bring about a new and more equal gender order. Part of such a policy would almost certainly involve a move towards shorter standard working times for all, but reductions in the standard working week appear to have fallen off the agenda just at the time when there is increased interest in the reorganisation of time spent in and out of work. The male breadwinner model of family organisation still dominates most policy thinking. For example, the Delors white paper saw low wages as the main obstacle to working-time reductions in some low income countries, but did not consider the financial constraint households face due to the low participation rate of women in some of these countries. Indeed as Europe faces an ever more intractable employment problem there is a severe danger that policy initiatives will be taken which reinforce the traditional breadwinner model. Already, there is evidence that longer and more flexible working hours for men are increasingly being justified by the need to maintain competitiveness - and there is even some reemergence of the argument that shorter, more variable and perhaps even more intermittent participation by women should be encouraged as a more acceptable means of reducing the number of openly unemployed. It is essential that policy debates give explicit recognition to the gender impact of different types of working-time reorganisation. In particular, the two Essen objectives - to fight unemployment and to promote equal treatment - must be addressed as related, not separate, issues.

INTO THE 21ST CENTURY: PRIORITIES TO PROMOTE SEX EQUALITY IN SPAIN

Sex equality in employment is one of the most important goals for the 21st century according to the Spanish national report prepared for the recent Beijing World Conference on Women. The policy priorities identified by the report are to help women find employment and to set up their own businesses, to encourage women to enter non-traditional areas of work, and to increase women's share of decision-making positions. Work is already underway under the second national Equal Opportunities plan (1993-95). In particular, a regional network of related employment and training services have been established to help women find employment as part of the European NOW initiative. These initiatives encompass information (GIRA), non-traditional and professional training courses (DESCUBRE OTRAS PROFESIONES and NOVA), job search skills (MABREM) and female entrepreneurship (EMPRENDEDORAS).

Instituto de la Mujer (1994) "Las españolas en el umbral del siglo XXI. Informe presentado por España a la IV Conferencia Mundial sobre las Mujeres, Beiging, 1995" and (1993) "II Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades de las Mujeres 1993-1995". Both reports available from Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Madrid.

THE PROSPECTS FOR WORKSHARING IN IRELAND

Opportunities for jobsharing - one job shared between two people - exist in companies employing 31% of private sector employees and in 79% of public sector organisations according to the first detailed study conducted in Ireland. However, the number of actual job shares remains low, mainly because employees state that they cannot afford to switch to part-time work. Three quarters of existing job shares are held by married women with children. The low rate of job shares coexists with extensive overtime in both the public and private sector. Overtime is concentrated in low paid job areas, indicating that measures to curtail overtime would be felt most by those who rely upon it to maintain their family income. Yet 70% of employees stated that they would give up overtime if this would create more jobs. However, most employers believed that measures to reduce overtime would be costly and that few jobs would be created. Finally, the report points to how most worksharing - extended leave as well as job shares - is done by women. This gender imbalance leaves women disadvantaged in a job market which is still organised around long full-time hours for men.

Economic and Social Research Institute (1995) "Work sharing in Ireland", Dublin.

CARE OBLIGATIONS RECOGNISED IN THE NEW WORKING TIME ACT IN THE NETHERLANDS

The increasing demand for more working-time flexibility from both employers and employees has led to a total revision of the 1919 Working Hours Act. One important issue addressed in the debate about the new law - likely to come into force by January 1st, 1996 - is the protective role of the act. Should the legislation extend beyond protecting employees from working-time patterns which are detrimental to health and safety, and also protect them from schedules which have too great an impact on their ability to participate in social life? This wider principle of protection has been accepted and elaborated in a Memorandum from the new social-democratic Minister of Social Affairs and Employment. He is emphatic that the care responsibilities of employees should be taken into account. The new act now aims to protect the "safety, health and well being of employees in relation to their work" and to promote the "combination of work and care tasks, as well as other responsibilities outside the workplace". It is not clear what the real impact of this broader protective aim will be within an act which is mainly concerned to deregulate working time, but nevertheless the women's movement supports the adoption of this wider principle.

PRONOUNCED REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN UNEMPLOYMENT IN BELGIUM

Belgian unemployment rates have a strong regional as well as gender dimension. Unemployment is high and exceeds the European average in Brussels and Wallonia. In contrast, much lower unemployment rates are found in Flanders. Yet in all three regions the situation is worse for women, such that the female unemployment rate in the Flanders region was only slightly lower than the male unemployment rate in Wallonia in 1994 (9.4% compared to 10.8%). Women bear the brunt of unemployment in every age group and they remain unemployed for a longer period than men. Yet among the unemployed it is women who are the most qualified. This gender disparity in the risk of unemployment is only decreasing slowly as the economy picks up. The government has attempted to reduce unemployment through promoting working-time flexibility, career breaks and early retirement, but has paid only limited attention to the impact of these policies on sex equality. Yet the uneven incidence of these working-time arrangements is likely to widen, rather than reduce, gender differences in employment patterns.

C. Hecq, D. Meulders, R. Ruz Torres 1995. Female rates of employment and unemployment in Belgium. DULBEA, Brussels.

UNPAID WORK MAKES A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE GERMAN ECONOMY

Women still do most of the unpaid work, and their total working week (paid and unpaid hours) is longer than men's in every type of household. The gender difference is most pronounced in households where both partners have a full-time job and children. An ISO study found that in these households mothers worked for a total of 79 hours a week: 43 hours in paid work and commuting time and 36 hours in unpaid household and community activities. In contrast fathers worked for 70 hours a week, of which 24 hours were spent in unpaid work. The amount of weekly unpaid work is only slightly lower when averaged across all household types according to a recent national survey (20 hours per man and 35 hours per women). In total, 77 billion hours were devoted to unpaid work in 1992, compared with 47 billion hours of paid work (plus 8 billion hours of commuting time). This is estimated to be equivalent to 38% of the German Gross National Product.

ISO Institut (Bauer, Gross, Schilling) "Arbeitszeit '93", Arbeitszeitwünsche, Zeitbewirtschaftung und Arbeitszeitgestaltungschancen von abhängig Beschäftigten, hrsg. Ministerium für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Soziales des Landes NRW, Dusseldorf, 1994. Bundesministerium für Familie und Senioren und Statistisches Bundesamt (1994) "Wo bleibt die Zeit? Zeitverwendung der Bevolkerung in Deutschland", Wiesbaden 1994.

TIME TO CARE, LEARN AND REFLECT UNDER THE DANISH LEAVE PROGRAMMES

Since 1992 a programme of paid leave has been developed and extended in Denmark with three aims: to improve the quality of life for the working population, to raise qualification levels, and to promote worksharing between the employed and the unemployed. By 1994 80% of the labour force were eligible for either parental, educational or sabbatical leave for up to one year. Around 5% of the labour force took leave, nearly 60% of whom took parental leave. Evaluation studies conclude that the high and increasing take-up of leave indicates the popularity of the scheme. The initiative also contributes to worksharing, for two thirds of employees who took leave were replaced with temporary appointments. However, take-up is higher in the public sector and among women. Indeed, more than 80% of leave takers were women. This reflects fundamental gender inequalities in society. Most women earn less than men, so their income reduction while taking leave is generally smaller than for men. Furthermore, care work is still primarily women's work. If the leave programme remains feminised it may deter employers from appointing women to senior positions, with the result that sex segregation and the gender earnings gap may be reinforced instead of reduced.

Madsen, Per Kongshoj (1995) "Denmark: Arbejdsmarkedsreform og Orlovsordninger", The Nordic Council of Ministers, Nord 1995, Copenhagen. N. Michèle, M. Rosholm and N.Smith (1994) "Lønforskelle mellem Kvinder og Maend i 1980eme", Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift 132:260-285.

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Regular and occasional weekend work of males and females by Industry in the European Union, 1992.

NACE (1-digit)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9a	9	Total
Saturdays												
% usually works Saturdays												
Men	35.0	15.7	15.9	7.7	16.2	8.2	39.3	31.4	13.8	21.2	28.5	20.6
Women	31.4	6.0	4.1	3.8	9.9	6.4	45.0	27.6	8.5	12.5	26.9	23.3
% sometimes works Saturdays												
Men	23.7	32.4	24.8	25.8	24.2	21.6	20.1	29.1	24.1	27.7	26.1	24.8
Women	22.0	12.3	12.0	13.0	14.7	12.4	17.1	18.6	14.0	12.2	19.2	16.6
Sundays												
% usually works Sundays												
Men	13.7	11.3	10.3	2.5	6.2	1.5	11.8	15.4	3.8	11.5	13.3	8.4
Women	8.6	2.6	1.6	0.9	2.5	1.7	10.5	8.1	1.3	3.2	13.2	8.0
%Sometimes works Sundays												
Men	19.2	26.6	14.6	11.0	11.6	8.2	12.7	22.5	14.3	25.2	20.8	15.6
Women	14.0	5.3	5.0	4.1	4.2	4.8	11.1	10.4	5.8	8.0	14.7	10.2

Note: No data available for Ireland on Saturday and Sunday working.

Key to NACE (1-digit)

Agriculture	0	Distribution, hotels & catering	6
Energy & water	1	Transport & communication	7
Mineral extraction and chemicals	2	Banking, finance & insurance	8
Metal manufacturing & engineering	3	Public administration	9a
Other manufacturing industries	4	Other services	9
Construction & civil engineering	5		

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Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU

No. 6 April 1995

The European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market researches into women's employment for the Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission. Each year the network investigates a particular aspect of women's employment and the results are published in a synthesis report drawing on individual national reports. The information bulletin is produced twice a year and the series provides information on key developments in women's employment in the European Union plus some topical items of news and research from the member states.

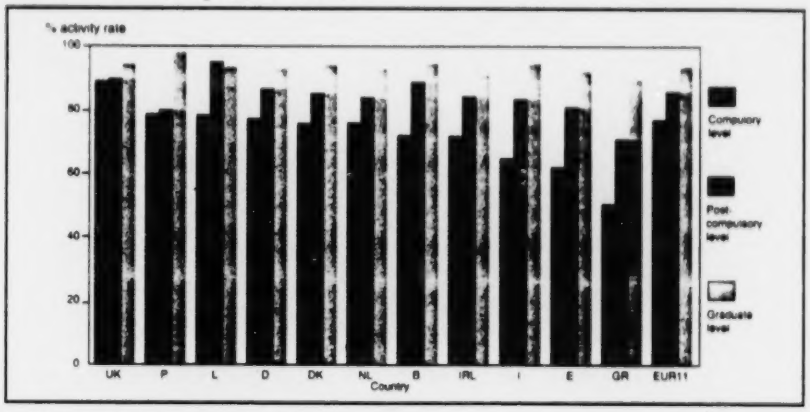
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS HIGHER FOR WOMEN GRADUATES THAN NON-GRADUATES IN EVERY COUNTRY. IS THIS TREND AS SIGNIFICANT AS THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COUNTRIES?

The integration of women into the labour market is developing unevenly across the European Union. Women's activity rates and employment rates vary markedly, not only *between* countries (see Bulletin no.1), but also *within* countries. New research by the European Union Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market reveals that highly qualified women are more integrated into employment than women with fewer qualifications. Furthermore, the importance of educational attainment for labour market activity persists even when women become mothers and take on their second domestic shift.

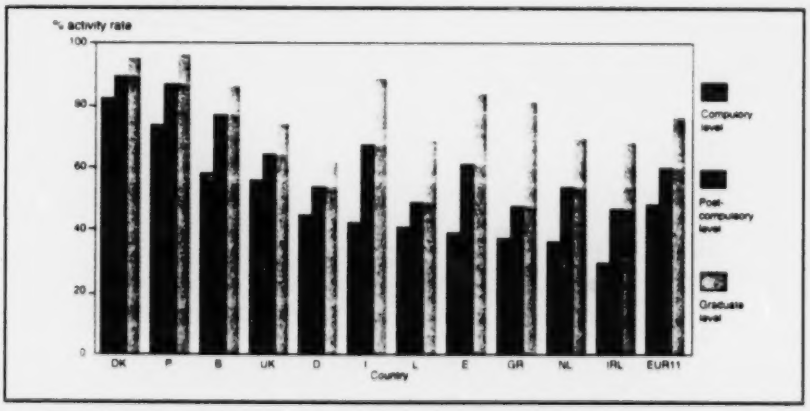
Rising qualification levels among women in every member state[1] are contributing to a divergence in the labour market experience of women - a divergence between those with and those without high level qualifications. But is the relationship between qualifications, maternal responsibilities and labour market involvement similar across countries? Or are mothers with similar qualifications more likely to work full-time in some member states than in others?

1 The impact of educational attainment on activity rates for women aged 20 - 39, 1991

a. Women without dependent children



b. Women with dependent children



Comparable education data are not available for France. Data relate to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers are defined as women with a dependent child aged 14 years or less
Source: European Labour Force Survey, 1991

[1] This research relates to the European Union in 1991 with 12 member states and prior to expansion in January 1995. The data for Germany refers to the former West Germany.

And does the distinction between full-time and part-time employment capture a similar pattern of working-time across countries?

YOUNGER WOMEN IN EUROPE ARE BETTER EDUCATED THAN THEIR MOTHERS, BUT THE SHARE OF WOMEN WHO ARE GRADUATES STILL VARIES BY COUNTRY

Education is an important stimulant to the integration of women into the labour market. It raises women's employment prospects and aspirations by increasing both their earnings potential and their access to the more intrinsically rewarding jobs. On average, younger women have higher educational levels than older women due to the more recent expansion of education in most countries. The different national educational systems mean that graduate or equivalent level qualifications are more common in some countries than in others. For example, about one fifth to one quarter of women aged 20-39 have had university level education in Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland and the Netherlands (18-25%), falling to less than 10% of such women in Italy, Luxembourg and Portugal[2].

In every country higher qualification levels for women go hand in hand with higher activity rates. When we look at the generation of women currently aged 20 to 39 it is clear that this strong link between educational attainment and labour market involvement operates for women without dependent children[3] (figure 1a) as well as for mothers (figure 1b). Thus qualifications have an major impact on women's labour market involvement regardless of their domestic responsibilities.

Once qualification levels are taken into account new similarities and differences in women's activity rates between countries are revealed. In particular, country differences in female activity rates are largest among women with low qualifications and are much smaller among graduate women.

Graduate women without children have very similar activity rates across the EU

There is a clear convergence in activity rates across the European Union for the most highly qualified women (figure 1a). Activity rates for graduate women without dependent children and aged 20-39 are concentrated in the range 91% to 95% in nine countries, and across the member states there is only a nine percentage point difference, from 89% in Greece up to 98% in Portugal. This compares to a 29 percentage point difference in activity rates for all childless women in this generation, from 61% in Greece to 90% in the UK.

In contrast, we find even greater variations in activity rates among women who left education after the compulsory period than we find for all women. This group of childless women have the lowest activity rates, falling below 75% in five countries (GR, E, I, IRL, B). Activity rates range from 51% in Greece up to 89% in the UK, a span of 38 percentage points. Country differences shrink to a range of 24 percentage points at the second level of education, with the lowest activity rate found in Greece (71%) and the highest found in Luxembourg (95%)[4].

Thus graduate qualifications exert a similar labour market pull on childless women in every country, while the largest country differences are found among women with few educational resources to boost their employment prospects. At the same time, the divergence in activity rates between women with high and low qualification levels is greater in some countries than in others. In particular, graduate women have much higher activity rates than women with basic education in Greece, Spain and Italy (30 percentage points or more) compared with the UK, where the difference is negligible.

Qualifications also increase the activity rates of mothers

It is well-known that the arrival of children has a greater impact on activity rates in some countries than in others (see Bulletin no.1), so that the lowest overall activity rate for mothers in the 20-39 year age group is found in Ireland (41%), which is less than half the rate found in Denmark (88%) where the highest activity rates for mothers are found (see data appendix). However, country variations in the impact of motherhood persist even when educational level is taken into account. The result is that there is less similarity in activity rates across countries for women with graduate qualifications once they have children than is observed for women without dependent children (figures 1a-b).

DATA ON EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Comparable data on educational qualifications for 1991 are available from the EU Labour Force Survey for all countries except France.

Compulsory level refers to all compulsory education. Elementary education normally starts around five or six years of age (seven years in Denmark) and lasts around five years. Compulsory post-elementary education normally continues up to the age of 16. National variations do exist, although there are trends towards convergence in compulsory educational attendance. For example, Spain raised the school-leaving age from 14 to 16 in 1988/89.

Post-compulsory level encompasses intermediate education qualifications required for entry into higher education as well as basic vocational training. Participation in education and training beyond the age of 16 is generally voluntary, although some member states have systems that encourage virtually 100% participation to 18 years of age.

Graduate level education comprises university or equivalent level qualifications.

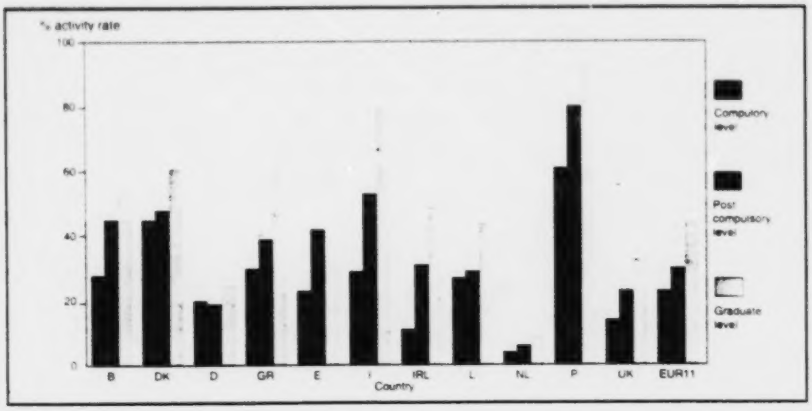
[2] Comparable educational data for France are not available from the 1991 EU Labour Force Survey, but national data for France reveals that educational attainment also has a positive effect on activity rates in this country.

[3] Due to the design of the Labour Force Survey the data for motherhood relates to women who are either the sole household head or the spouse of the household head. Mothers are defined as women with dependent children aged 14 or under in their household. "Non mothers" are women who are childless or who do not have dependent children who are 14 or under in their household.

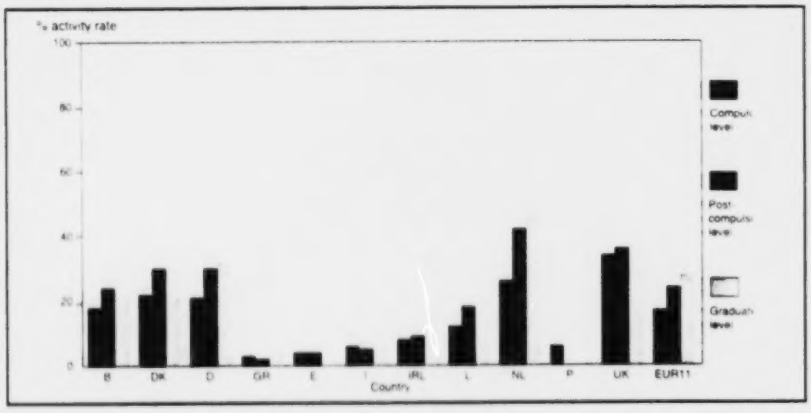
[4] Some women aged 20 - 39 who have post-compulsory educational qualifications and are inactive will be students preparing for graduate level qualifications.

2 The employment rate of mothers aged 20 - 39 by educational attainment, 1991

a. The full-time employment rate



b. The part-time employment rate



Note: Comparable education data are not available for France. Data relate to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers are defined as women with a dependent child aged 14 years or less.
Source: European Labour Force Survey, 1991

Like the pattern observed for childless women, the largest country differences in activity rates are found among those mothers with the lowest level of qualifications. Activity rates for this group of mothers are below 40% in Ireland, the Netherlands, Greece and Spain; but exceed 70% in Denmark and Portugal. The inter-country range in activity rates is over 50 percentage points and is only reduced to 38 percentage points even if we exclude the two most extreme countries. Mothers with post-compulsory level qualifications have higher activity rates, particularly in Denmark (89%), Portugal (87%) and Belgium (77%); but the rate is still below 50% in Ireland, Greece and Luxembourg.

The highest maternal activity rates are found among graduate women. Activity rates for this group of mothers only fall below 70% in Germany (former West Germany [W]), the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Ireland whereas elsewhere the rates always exceed 80%. The country range in activity rates - from 62% in Germany (W) to 96% in Portugal - is much wider than for graduates without dependent children. Nevertheless high qualifications clearly do provide a labour market resource which helps to offset the negative impact of motherhood on activity rates. This negative effect is found in every country except Denmark (see data appendix). The impact of graduate qualifications on maternal activity rates is particularly strong in five countries: in Italy, Greece, Spain, Ireland and the Netherlands. In fact the activity rate of graduate mothers is more than double that for mothers with compulsory level education in four of these countries and nearly double in the Netherlands.

Educational attainment is thus an important indicator of a divergence *within* countries between the labour market involvement of different groups of mothers. Yet at every level of education the impact of motherhood on activity still varies *between* countries. So while education is associated with higher female activity rates in every country the size of the increase varies nationally; hence the divergence between mothers with different levels of qualification is greater in some countries than in others.

Does education affect the form as well as the level of labour market activity for mothers? In particular, is part-time employment more common for mothers with low qualifications or for women with graduate level careers?

Mothers with qualifications are not only more likely to engage in paid work, but also to hold full-time jobs

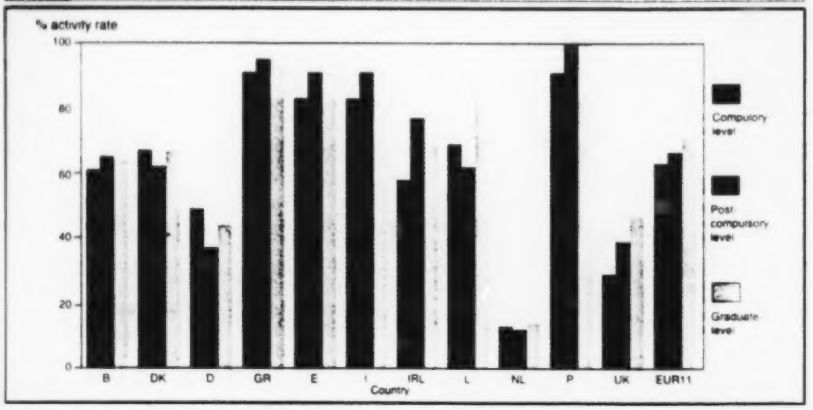
Educational attainment does not just lead to higher activity rates, but also to higher employment rates. Figure 2a shows that the full-time employment rate for mothers increases with educational level in every country, particularly for those with graduate qualifications. Less than a third of mothers with only compulsory level education are in full-time jobs in every country except Denmark (45%) and Portugal (61%). In contrast more than 45% of graduate mothers are employed full-time in seven of the eleven member states, with the lowest rates found in Luxembourg (44%) Germany (W) (25%) the UK (33%) and the Netherlands (9%).

Yet figure 2b shows that the part-time employment rate for mothers also increases with educational level, except in the Southern countries where this employment form is less common (see Bulletins no.2 and no.4). Overall, 28% of graduate mothers aged 20-39 in the EUR11 (no data for France) are in part-time employment. *Thus education is associated with a greater maternal involvement in both full-time and part-time employment.*

Full-time employment among mothers still increases more sharply with educational attainment than part-time employment in most countries. Therefore, the share of employed mothers who work full-time rises with qualification in seven countries (figure 3). The exceptions are the Netherlands, where working-time is only weakly affected by educational

characteristics, and Denmark, Germany (W) and Luxembourg where part-time employment peaks among employed mothers with secondary level qualifications. In Denmark, where part-time employment is common among students, some of these mothers with post-compulsory educational qualifications who are in part-time employment may be studying for higher level qualifications. *Since occupational segregation is lower for women employed full-time rather than part-time (see Bulletin no.4) it is clear that within each country the form as well as the level of labour market integration for mothers is likely to diverge according to their educational resources: among employed women those with few qualifications are the most prone to be located in part-time, feminised jobs.*

3 **The share of employed mothers who work full-time, by educational level, 1991**



Note: Comparable education data are not available for France. Data relate to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers are defined as women with a dependent child aged 14 years or less.
Source: European Labour Force Survey, 1991

HIGH MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT RATES ARE NOT DEPENDENT UPON PART-TIME WORK OPPORTUNITIES

Whether mothers are in the formal labour market, and whether they have full-time or part-time employment is clearly affected by their qualification levels in every country. But country differences in maternal employment are not simply a product of different educational opportunities, for at every level of education there are national variations in both the activity and employment rates for mothers. How, then, do the employment rates for mothers compare overall?

There is a wide national diversity in employment rates for mothers, from 76% in Denmark to 32% in Ireland for mothers aged 20-39 (see table). Thus the inter-country variation in employment rates spans some 45 percentage points. The range of full-time employment rates is even wider, at 61 percentage points. On one hand, the full-time employment rate for all mothers aged 20-39 exceeds 40% in Portugal (66%), Denmark (49%) and France (44%). On the other hand, much lower full-time employment rates are found in Germany (W) (20%), the UK (18%) and the Netherlands (5%), which are the only three countries where more mothers are employed in part-time jobs than in full-time jobs. This variation in the full-time employment rates for mothers indicates that high levels of maternal employment depend on a variety of factors, and not simply upon differences in the availability of part-time work between countries.

The lowest full-time employment rates are found alongside the highest incidence of part-time employment for mothers in the Netherlands (36%), the UK (35%) and Germany (W) (28%). It appears that in these countries part-time employment is a substitute rather than an addition to full-time employment. In contrast, high full-time employment rates coexist with high part-time employment rates for mothers in Denmark (27%), and to a lesser extent in Belgium (23%) and France (17%), countries where family policy is conducive to women remaining in employment on either a full- or part-time basis when they have young children.

Considerable country differences exist in both the full-time employment rate for mothers, and in the contribution which part-time jobs makes to the overall employment rate of mothers. Clearly, the relationship between motherhood, employment and working-time is organised quite differently across the member states.

The employment rate of mothers aged 20 - 39, 1991

THE NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED BY MOTHERS IN PART-TIME AND FULL-TIME JOBS DIFFERS BETWEEN COUNTRIES

The distinction between full-time and part-time employment is a traditional way of describing differences in mothers' involvement in paid work. The distinction is not based on an explicit hours threshold in the European labour force survey in most member states, instead it is individuals themselves who simply state whether they work full-time or part-time[5]. Therefore, when mothers state that they are employed part-time do they work a similar number of hours across the European Union? And how many hours do full-time jobs actually involve?

Across the European Union 93% of mothers employed part-time work 30 hours or less per week and 91% of mothers employed full-time work more than 30 hours a week (figure 4a-b). *Overall, therefore, most full-time and part-time jobs fall either side of a 30 hour threshold. However, this hides important differences both between countries and within countries.*

Figure 4a shows the distribution of hours for mothers in part-time jobs, with the countries ranked according to the incidence of short part-time jobs (10 hours or less per week). The most common working-time band for part-timers is between 11 and 20 hours a week in every country except Denmark. This hours band captures between 45% and 70% of all part-timers in every country except Denmark (23%), France (37%) and Portugal (41%).

Short part-time jobs are nevertheless much more common in some countries than in others. Short part-time jobs account for one third of all part-time jobs held by mothers in the Netherlands, and one quarter of these jobs in the UK. Just over one fifth of mothers employed part-time in Ireland and Spain are also found in these short jobs. In contrast, less than 10% of part-time jobs involve these short hours in Denmark (4%), Belgium (6%) and France (9%) and Greece (0%).

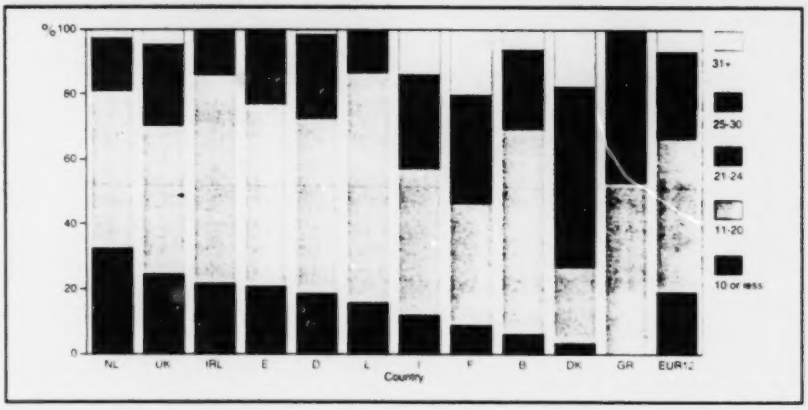
Conversely, long part-time jobs are more common in some countries than others. Between 14% and 20% of employed mothers in part-time jobs work more than 30 hours a week in Denmark, France, Portugal and Italy. Overall, nearly two thirds of part-time jobs held by mothers involve at least 25 hours a week in Denmark. Long part-time hours in excess of 25 hours a week are also common in France (46%), Portugal (43%) and Greece (47%).

A diversity of hours of work are also found for mothers employed full-time (figure 4b). More than half of these mothers work between 36 and 40 hours a week in every country except Portugal (25%) and the UK (48%). Just over 15% of mothers employed full-time in these two countries work in excess of 45 hours a week (15%). Long hours are also common for mothers employed full-time in Greece (21%) and for the few mothers employed full-time in the Netherlands (18%). Short full-time hours are common in Luxembourg, Ireland, the UK, Italy, Greece and Portugal, where between 18% and 30% of full-timers work 35 hours or less a week.

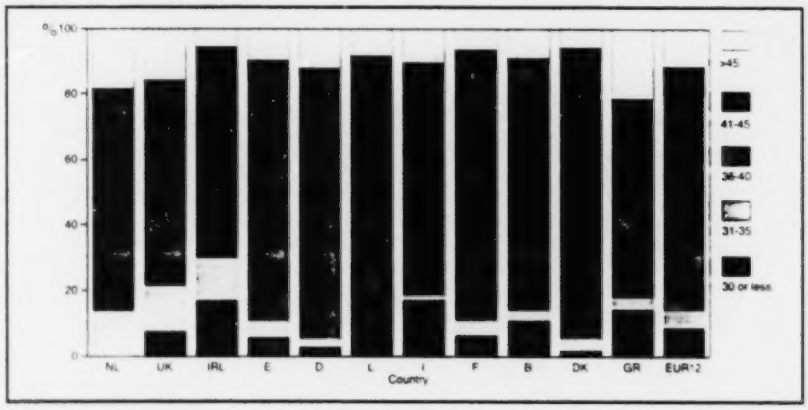
The distinction between full-time and part-time status is an important divide which captures many differences in the quality and form of employment. For example part-timers are more concentrated into female-dominated service jobs than full-timers (see Bulletin no.4). However, this dichotomy also hides the diversity of hours of work which these jobs entail. Employees in short part-time jobs are likely to be more marginalised than those in long part-time jobs. In contrast, women who are able to work in

4 The usual hours worked by employed mothers aged 20 - 39, 1991

a. Mothers in part-time employment



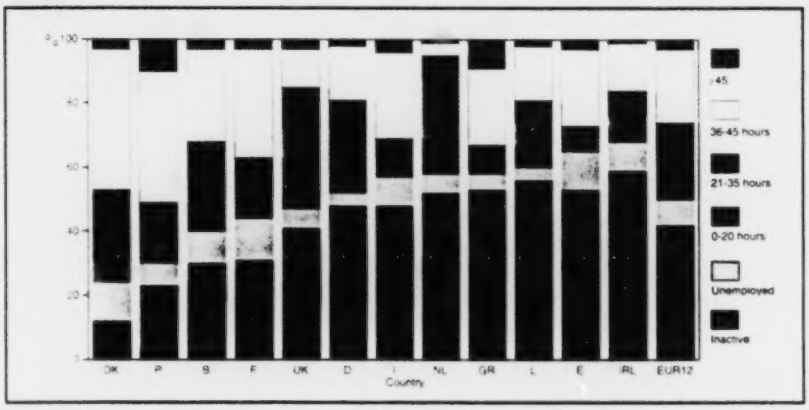
b. Mothers in full-time employment



Note: Data relate to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers are defined as women with a dependent child aged 14 years or less.
Source: European Labour Force Survey.

[5] *The definition of part-time work is more detailed in the labour force surveys conducted in three countries. In the Netherlands part-time hours for employees are less than 31 hours per week or less than 35 hours when this is below the full-time norm for the job, and less than 35 hours for the self-employed and family workers. In Greece and Italy people work part-time if they work fewer hours than the norm established for that job in collective agreements.*

5 Levels of economic activity for mothers aged 20 - 39



Note: Data relate to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers are defined as women with a dependent child aged 14 years or less.
Source: European Labour Force Survey 1991

long part-time or short full-time jobs when they have young children are likely to be more integrated into the employment hierarchy.

MOTHERS' EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS STILL SHOW NO SIGN OF CONVERGENCE BETWEEN MEMBER STATES

Figure 5 summarises the employment status of mothers in the European Union, ranging from the category of non-employment to that of long hours in full-time employment. In Denmark, Portugal, France and Belgium not only are a high share of mothers in the labour market, but also more than a third are employed for at least 36 hours a week. Indeed, in Portugal 10% of mothers are working over 45 hours a week, probably due in part to women's concentration in the agricultural sector (see Bulletin no.2).

Aside from these four countries, high levels of inactivity are still found in the remaining eight countries. Here the shares of mothers who are not involved in the formal labour market range from 41% in the UK up to 59% in Ireland. In three Southern countries (I, Gr, E) a high rate of inactivity coexists with a relatively high share of mothers employed in jobs lasting 36 hours or more per week. In the other five countries when mothers do work it is primarily in part-time jobs for 20 hours or less per week.

Evidently, mothers are involved in a diverse range of working-time patterns, which are not fully captured by the distinction between activity or inactivity, or between full-time and part-time employment.

WORKING-TIME DIVERSITY FOUND WITHIN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS BETWEEN COUNTRIES

Comparisons of women's average activity, employment rates and hours of work across the European Union reveal marked differences *between* countries but fail to reveal divergences among different groups of women *within* countries. The first indication of this divergence is provided when we take women's educational resources into account. The second is found when we look at the range of working-time patterns found among both part-timers and full-timers.

In every country, women with high qualifications are more likely to maintain a continuous pattern of labour market participation if they become mothers than women with fewer educational resources. It is this pool of women who are also most likely to be gaining access to highly skilled professional jobs while women who lack these qualifications enter more traditional and more feminised occupations (see Bulletin no.3). While there is a clear divergence among women according to their educational resources within countries, education has a bigger impact on labour market involvement in some countries than in others, particularly for women who become mothers.

Differences among women - within countries and between countries - are also found in the extent to which mothers are employed, whether this employment is primarily full-time or part-time, and whether they work short or long hours in full-time and part-time jobs. Mothers with qualifications are more likely to be employed than those without formal accreditation, but this is mediated by other societal features. Marked country differences remain in the extent of divergence between groups of women and in the employment patterns of mothers at every level of education.

Women's employment patterns can only by partially explained by their personal characteristics - such as their education or their responsibilities for children - their societal environment must also be taken into account. Governments' employment and fiscal policies, as well as the actions of employers and trade unions affect women's access to paid work, how paid work is organised and rewarded, and how unpaid work is distributed. Thus differences between European member states in the organisation of labour markets, in welfare systems and support for childcare and in social attitudes are still producing divergent and uneven patterns of female integration into the European labour markets.

RECENT RESEARCH REPORTS FROM THE NETWORK ON THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET.

The information in this Bulletin is drawn from the Network's recent research into changing patterns of work and working-time across Europe. This report, together with a recent report on wage determination, are available from the European Commission:

Jill Rubery, Colette Fagan and Mark Smith (1995) Changing patterns of work and working-time in the European Union and the impact on gender divisions. *Report available from the Equal Opportunities Unit, European Commission.*

Jill Rubery and Colette Fagan (1994) Wage determination and sex segregation in the European Community. *(Social Europe Supplement 4/94). Luxembourg: Official Publications for the European Communities in English, French and German.*

Most of the national reports prepared by the Experts for both these studies are available from the Coordinating team. A charge will be made to cover reproduction costs.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BRITISH WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS HAVE BEEN GIVEN SEVERAL MUCH NEEDED BOOSTS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF EUROPEAN LEGISLATION.

1994 has been a good year for women's employment rights in Britain, at least by recent historical standards. The new European maternity leave directive forced the government to change the legislation. All women now have the right to maternity leave (previously women had to have a continuous employment record of two years with their current employer) and considerably enhanced right to maternity pay. The government will also have to extend some employment rights to part-timers after a court ruled that working time thresholds for entitlement to statutory redudancy pay and protection from unfair dismissal discriminated against women. Part-time workers were also victorious in a claim that they should not be excluded from employers' occupational pension schemes. Against these successes must be set the failures. The government refused to accept the European Atypical Workers' Directive. It also replaced unemployment benefit with a new Job Seekers' allowance, which means that the unemployed have to apply for income-tested benefits after six months instead of one year. This will have a major negative effect on unemployed women because women often do not qualify for income-tested social security benefits.

THE EC GREEN PAPER ON SOCIAL POLICY STIMULATES A MEMORANDUM ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN GREECE

On March 31 1994 a memorandum on equal opportunities at work was issued as a result of the debate on the EC Green Paper on Social Policy. The memorandum rejects the suggestion that wage levels should be allowed to fall because this will lead to poverty and marginalisation for many women who are already paid at the basic rates laid down in collective agreements. It also argues that the introduction of new working-time policies must take into account workers' preferences. In particular, that women have more difficulty than men in finding full-time work and so are under greater pressure to accept part-time work. The memorandum contains proposals to guarantee certain minimum rights for atypical workers, particularly the right to equal pay for work of equal value. It argues that the cost of measures to promote women's employment must not fall disproportionately on firms that hire women in case this makes them less competitive. Policies must also be designed in a way that does not lead to an expansion of informal employment as an avoidance strategy. For example, excessive regulation of homeworking will tend to increase rather than curtail the informal sector.

NEW RESEARCH RAISES THE VISIBILITY OF WOMEN IN SOUTHERN ITALY

The literature on the so called "questione meridionale" - the problem of the under development of Southern Italy - is plentiful, but women are usually invisible in such studies. A new collection of papers drawn from a variety of social science disciplines has begun to redress this gender bias. This book analyses the Mezzogiorno region from the perspective of women. It examines the economic and social role of the family, the role of women within the family and the specific ways in which women are striving for emancipation. It emphasises the importance that women place on both motherhood and wage-work for self-fulfillment, the family building strategies which women are developing, and the mismatch between their employment aspirations and their prospects of finding work. For the first time the "questione meridionale" and the "questione femminile" are considered together.
Nella GINATEMPO (a cura di) Donne del Sud. Il Prisma Femminile sulla Questione Meridionale. Gelka Editori, Via Roma 94, 90133, Palermo, Italy (pp336). For further information contact Prof. Nella Ginatempo, Dipartimento di Teoria e Analisi dei Fenomeni Sociali e Politici Università degli Studi di Messina, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Via Tommaso Cannizzaro 9 -98100 Messina, Italy.

FRENCH RESEARCHERS ESTABLISH NETWORK ON LABOUR MARKETS AND GENDER

A multi-disciplinary programme of research has been established in France in order to re-examine the issues related to work, employment and training in light of the "gender variable". The group consists of around one hundred female and male French researchers and foreign experts drawn from about twenty research institutes encompassing sociology, economics, history, law, political science, education, psychology and philosophy. Four main themes will be investigated. What are the social and economic factors behind the reshaping of the economically active population, and can the expansion of flexible employment forms be understood without integrating a gender dimension? What is driving the emergence of long-term unemployment? Why do inequalities between the sexes persist in wages, working conditions and job prospects? Why does gender segregation persist in the training and education system despite the increase in the number of female participants?
GDR Mage - Margaret MARUANI - CSU-IRESCO, 59 rue Pouchet, 75849 Paris CEDEX 17.

THE TYPICAL LOW PAID WORKER IN LUXEMBOURG IS A WOMAN

Women are disproportionately concentrated in the lower paid jobs in Luxembourg, for they account for around one third of the workforce but nearly two thirds of those employees who only receive the minimum wage. Around 60% of the workforce is aged between 20 and 39 but this age group holds 80% of jobs paid at the minimum rate. Therefore, there is an age as well as a gender bias in the profile of workers on the minimum wage and it is younger women who are most at risk from low pay.
Martine DEPREZ 1994 Salerie Social Minimum, Population et Emploi no.3. CEPS, INSTEAD, IGSS.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FAILS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF LONG TERM UNEMPLOYED WOMEN IN PORTUGAL

The risk of long-term unemployment in Portugal is greatest for low skilled and older women. They are particularly vulnerable to job loss as a result of restructuring in feminised manufacturing sectors and because of precarious employment in personal service and related occupations. The majority of long term unemployed women point to the combined effect of their age and their lack of education and training as important factors in their situation. Indeed, around 40% of long term unemployed women in the 35 to 44 year age group have only basic education qualifications and 85% have never received vocational training. The provision of suitable vocational training for this group of women seems, therefore, to be an important policy. Yet 85% of training programmes are apprenticeships or initial training courses and only 14% of courses offer reskilling for older workers. The inappropriateness of many of these courses is reflected in the reluctance of a significant share of long term unemployed women to attend vocational training because they feel that the skills they would learn would be of little use. It is vital that economic and training policies are developed which address the specific needs of the female long term unemployed.
Ministry of Employment Statistical Department (DEMESS) (1993) Inquérito ao Levantamento das Necessidades de Formação Profissional dos Desempregados de Longa Dura(No, Lisboa, DEMESS. Chages Lopes, M. and Fontainha, E(1994) Unemployment components and output dynamics: the Portuguese Case. 6th EALE conference, Warsaw, Poland.

DATA APPENDIX

The activity rates for women aged 20-39 by educational attainment and maternal status, 1991.

	Women without dependent children				Mothers				Motherhood effect
	Compulsory	Post-compulsory	Graduate	All	Compulsory	Post-compulsory	Graduate	All	
B	72.1	88.8	94.6	83.9	58.2	76.9	86.1	70.3	-16
DK	75.9	85.3	94.2	85.6	82.4	89.4	95.2	87.6	+ 2
D	77.4	86.7	92.9	85.4	44.8	53.9	61.8	51.9	-39
GR	50.6	70.9	89.5	61.1	37.4	47.7	81.2	47.4	-22
E	62.2	81.0	92.2	73.7	39.1	61.2	83.9	46.8	-37
F	na	na	na	84.3	na	na	na	69.9	-17
IRL	71.9	84.3	91.1	82.7	29.5	46.8	68.1	40.7	-51
I	64.9	83.5	94.6	73.9	42.4	67.4	88.6	51.6	-30
L	78.5	95.1	93.4	83.2	41.0	48.9	68.6	43.5	-48
NL	76.1	84.0	93.1	84.0	36.3	53.9	69.5	48.1	-43
P	78.7	80.0	98.1	81.7	73.7	86.8	96.2	76.9	- 6
UK	89.2	89.8	94.4	90.3	56.0	64.3	74.0	59.2	-34
EUR12	77.1	85.9	93.6	83.7	48.3	60.0	76.2	57.8	-31

Note: Comparable education data are not available for France. Data relate to women who are the household head, either individually or as part of a couple. Mothers are defined as women with a dependent child aged 14 years or less.

Motherhood effect = (activity rate of mothers - activity rate of women without dependent children) /activity rate of women without dependent children x 100

Source: European Labour Force Survey, 1991.

Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market

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Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU

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The European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market researches into women's employment for the Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission. Each year the network investigates a particular aspect of women's employment and the results are published in a synthesis report drawing on 12 individual national reports. The information bulletin is produced twice a year and the series provides information on key developments in women's employment in the European Union plus some topical items of news and research from the member states.

INCREASING FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET FAILS TO CLOSE THE GENDER PAY GAP

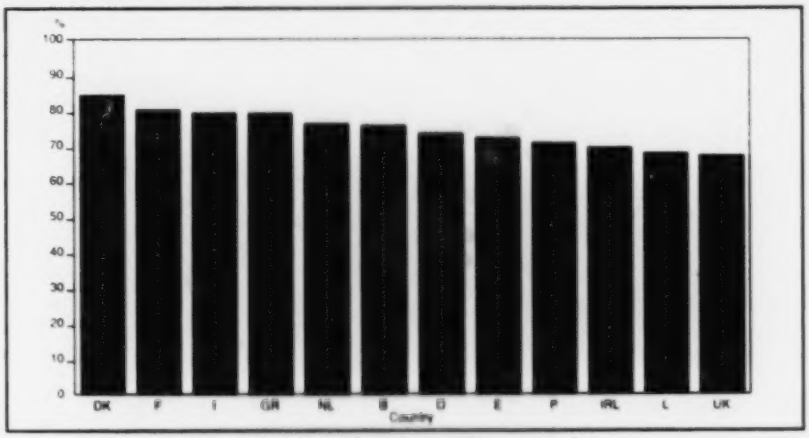
The struggle to close the gender pay gap is facing determined resistance. Although the initial surge in women's employment was accompanied by a narrowing of the gender pay gap, the continued integration of women into paid employment over the last decade has had little effect on their pay relative to men. Women may have won some jobs in the higher paid professional employment categories (see Bulletin 3), but women are still overrepresented among low paid workers. *Is this pervasive pay inequality the result of continuing sex segregation in employment? And how do systems of pay determination affect the penalties attached to employment segregation?*

MEN ARE STILL PAID MORE - BUT HOW MUCH MORE DEPENDS ON THE COUNTRY

Gender pay gaps persist in every member state; but the size of the gap varies not only by country but also between manual and non manual jobs. Women in manual jobs earn from 67% to 84% of men's average pay[1] (see Fig. 1a). The ratio is highest in Denmark, France, Italy and Greece where it ranges from 79% to 84%, and lowest in the UK, Luxembourg and Ireland where it stands between 67% and 70%.

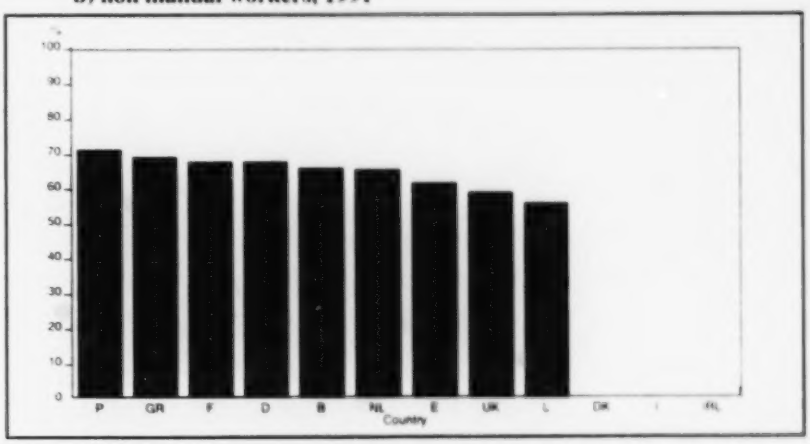
1 The Gender Pay Gap, 1991.

a) manual workers



Note: 1990 data for the Netherlands and Luxembourg. 1989 estimate for Italy
Source: Eurostat "Earnings: Industry and Services" (1992)

b) non manual workers, 1991



Note: 1990 data for the Netherlands and Luxembourg. data missing for Denmark, Ireland and Italy
Source: Eurostat "Earnings: Industry and Services" (1992)

The difference in earnings between male and female non manual workers

[1] *Earnings data for 1991 from Eurostat. See the footnote to the Data Appendix for details.*

is even wider (see Figure 1b). Women receive more than two thirds of men's average pay in only four countries (Portugal, Greece, France, and Germany) and the ratio falls as low as 55% and 58% in Luxembourg and the UK.

How much has women's position changed over the last decade?

In most countries women's earnings relative to men's have improved slightly (see Data Appendix). In 1991, six countries recorded gender pay ratios for manual workers greater than 75% compared to only three in 1980. During this period, the ratio rose between 1 and 3 percentage points in nine countries. However, in Denmark, Italy, and the UK the gender pay gap actually widened. Of these three, Denmark and Italy began and ended the decade with relatively small gender pay gaps, while the UK slipped to the bottom of the EU range of gender pay ratios.

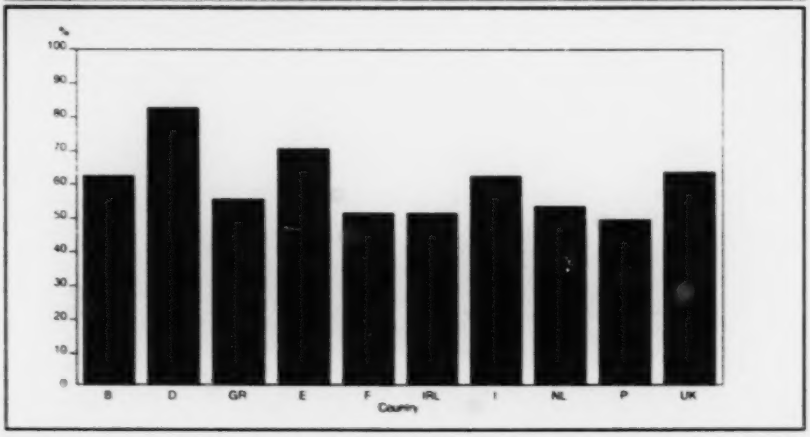
Among non manual workers, women experienced a stronger rise in their pay relative to men in all countries for which data is available. The range of gender pay gaps progressed from a span of 50-66% in 1980 to 55-69% in 1991. However, the pay gap remains greater than for manual workers.

It is clear that progress in closing the gender pay gap is slow and may even deteriorate despite women's increased involvement in employment.

LOW PAY IS NOT A 'WOMEN ONLY' ISSUE BUT WOMEN ARE MORE AT RISK OF LOW PAY THAN MEN

Behind the relatively low average income position of women lies an equally disturbing overrepresentation of women among the low paid. Using the standard definition of low pay, that is earnings less than 66% of the national median level of earnings, research by CERC[2] found that women are at greater risk of being low paid than men in the European Community. Indeed, the risk that women will be low paid is roughly two and a half times that for the labour force as a whole in both Germany and the Netherlands.

2 The percentage of low paid full-time workers who are female in the European Union



Note: Low pay is defined as less than 66% of the full-time median wage, except for Spain where the definition used is less than 40%, and data for Greece includes part-timers. No data for Denmark or Luxembourg.
Source: CERC (1991), table IV.9.

In every country except Belgium, between 19% and 41% of all female full-time workers are counted as low paid, whereas the fraction of low paid men in each country never exceeds one in five. Figure 2 shows that women are clearly overrepresented among low paid full-time workers in the Community. The share of the low paid who are female varies from 49% in Portugal to a massive 82% in Germany.

Furthermore, these figures underestimate the true incidence of low pay among women since they exclude both part-timers and workers in the informal sector, the majority of whom are women.

Women's risk of being low paid depends not only on their share of the low paid, but also on the overall incidence of low pay in the country. For example, women are twice as likely to be low paid than men in both Belgium and the UK, but only 10% of Belgian women are low paid compared to 40% of British women.

Which types of wage regulation reduce the risk of low pay for all workers? Which wage systems reduce the vulnerability of women's labour market position?

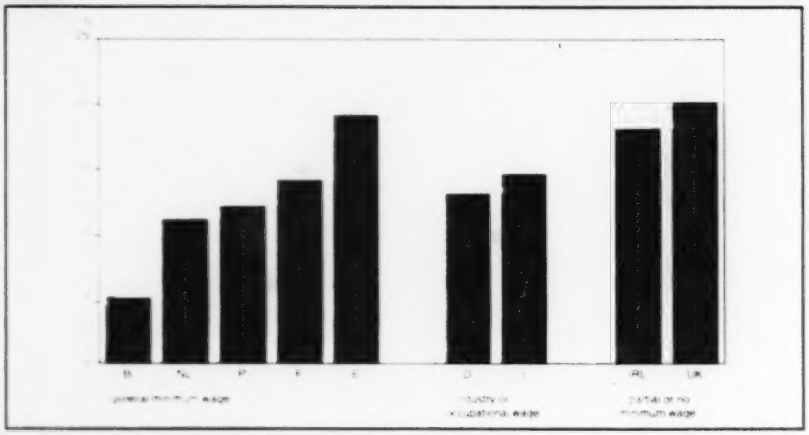
WOMEN BENEFIT MOST FROM STRONG MINIMUM WAGE REGULATION.

Since the majority of the low paid are women, minimum wage protection is of critical importance. In France, 14% of all women employed received the minimum wage compared to only 5% of men. In Portugal, the highest shares by industry of workers paid the minimum wage are found in the female-dominated sectors of clothing and hotels and catering, where 16% and 26% of women received minimum rates respectively.

Three countries (Italy, Denmark and Germany) regulate minimum wages through collective bargaining, while seven countries set a national minimum wage. Ireland has only a partial minimum wage system, and in the UK the once partial system of minimum wage protection has recently been abolished in all sectors except agriculture.

[2] *'Low pay in the European Economic Community' (1991), Report for the Directorate-General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs of the Commission of the European Communities, V/2024/91-EN*

3 **The percentage of full-time workers who are low paid in the European Union according to the type of minimum wage system.**



Note: Low pay is defined as less than 66% of the full-time median wage. No data for Denmark, Greece or Luxembourg. Source: CERC (1991), table II.4

Low pay is more frequent where wage regulation is weakest.

Figure 3 shows that the incidence of low pay in each country is strongly influenced by the type of minimum wage regulation that exists. Across Europe the incidence of low pay is at its highest in the UK, Ireland and Spain. In the UK and Ireland, there is neither a national system of minimum wage protection nor enforcement of minimum rates by strong collective bargaining. In Spain, although there is a general minimum wage, it is set at a low level and not comprehensively enforced.

By far the smallest incidence of low pay is in Belgium. Just 5% of all full-time workers in Belgium are low paid mainly because the wage system is regulated by both a national minimum wage and strong collective bargaining.

Is a general minimum wage the answer to women's low pay?

The advantage of a general minimum wage is that it applies to all firms and industries. Sectors which employ mainly women - such as services, small firms and subcontractors - are all included in the minimum wage safety net. In contrast, where minimum rates are established through industry or occupational collective bargaining, women's pay hinges on the effectiveness of the regulatory system. For example, bargaining agreements in Italy are legally extended to all workers in the formal sector, but many workers in the informal sector fall outside the net. In Germany the voluntarist system of collective bargaining is strong in manufacturing and some service industries, but it only provides a patchy coverage in some growing areas such as business services. Although essential, a general minimum wage will not solve all women's problems. On the one hand, where minimum wage regulations exist without trade union organisation, they are often ineffective as employees lack the power to individually enforce them. Furthermore, a general system of minimum wages may deter the establishment of effective collective bargaining, and thus weaken the opportunities of all workers to make more substantial claims. On the other hand, where minimum wages coexist with strong industry bargaining, as for example in Belgium and the Netherlands, this may foster a gendered hierarchy of minimum pay rates. *This is because collective bargaining may be a source of strength in implementing minimum wage regulations, but collective bargaining power has also traditionally been concentrated in male-dominated sectors.*

Who is covered by minimum wage regulation?

National minimum wage systems may still exclude some groups of workers, many of whom are women. Until 1993, the Netherlands excluded part-timers working less than 13 hours a week. In many countries homeworkers are excluded, and even where included enforcement amongst homeworkers is weak. In Germany and Denmark where minimum wages are regulated by collective bargaining, some part-timers on short hours are not covered.

WOMEN'S PAY AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING: CAN WOMEN USE THE COLLECTIVE STRENGTH OF WORKERS TO CLOSE THE GENDER PAY GAP?

Improvements in women's pay have historically been gained through collective organisation and wage regulation. Yet a system of collective bargaining also acts to institutionalise customary pay differentials and reflects the relative labour market power of men and women.

The persistence of sex segregation in employment means that the type of wage regulation system that exists in each country has an important impact on the construction of male and female pay differentials.

The community is divided between strong and weak systems of collective bargaining.

We can divide the member states along two dimensions; the organisation of collective bargaining and the extent of minimum wage protection. This categorisation pays special attention to areas of importance to women such as private services, rather than the traditional focus on bargaining strength in manufacturing. Five countries have strong collective bargaining, and within this group Belgium and the Netherlands also have a general minimum wage. In Denmark, Germany and Italy, the system of collective bargaining still provides fairly comprehensive regulation in the formal sector, even though in Germany some gaps can be found in service sector coverage.

Summary picture of wage determination systems.

Strong Collective Bargaining	Denmark Germany Italy	Belgium Netherlands
Weak or Uneven Collective Bargaining	Ireland UK	Luxembourg Greece France Spain Portugal
	No General Minimum Wage	**General Minimum Wage**

The remaining seven countries are all characterised by weak or uneven collective bargaining. Luxembourg and Greece are often regarded as having strong collective bargaining systems, but they offer only limited coverage in sectors where women are concentrated. In France and Spain, collective bargaining coverage is high at around 90% and 70% respectively (compared to a figure of only 58% in Portugal). However, in France many of the agreements in service sectors do little more than replicate basic legal employment rights and thus can only be described as weak collective bargaining. In Spain, again many agreements provide fairly limited regulation of employment conditions.

In the UK and Ireland the absence of a general minimum wage system is compounded by the weak and fragmented collective bargaining system. Over half of the workforce in the UK now have their pay determined by employers without a formal process of collective bargaining with workers; and in Ireland women are overrepresented in those sectors or organisations not covered by collective bargaining.

SEX SEGREGATION AND VARIATIONS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

It is well known that women are less likely than men to be covered by a collective bargaining agreement...

Although women are highly unionised in banking and the public sector, they are more likely than men to be employed in occupations, firms or industries that fall outside the collective bargaining system. Several countries still have collective agreements which exclude part-timers, most of whom are women. These excluded groups are vulnerable to low pay and inferior employment conditions. In contrast, men who fall outside collective settlements are often at higher levels of the employment hierarchy, and are able to enhance their pay through individual bargaining.

Sex segregation by industry within each member state is associated with variations in the quality of collective bargaining agreements. Where women are concentrated in private services, collective bargaining is weak. Indeed, the retail sector and hotels and catering are generally the least regulated of all sectors. In the UK, Ireland and Luxembourg, regulation is virtually non existent, and in France hotels and catering is the last sector to have established industry-level bargaining. In the Netherlands the minimum wage rate in retail equals the statutory national minimum wage, but in every other sector collective bargaining has achieved higher minimum rates.

The lack of collective bargaining strength in private services may be because it is difficult to organise in these sectors. However, the male-dominated agriculture and construction sectors are also hard to organise but wage regulation is better established across the community.

Collective bargaining is strong in the male-dominated manufacturing sector. The exception is the female-dominated clothing and textiles industries, where the difficulties in enforcing wage regulation are exacerbated due to the dominance of the informal sector.

...women are also less likely to benefit from additions or supplements at the enterprise level.

Collective bargaining at the level of the firm is more established in manufacturing than private services. This adds to gender pay inequalities by providing scope for additional payments and supplements in male-dominated sectors.

The public sector provides some shelter against arbitrary and unregulated pay practices, but for how much longer will this protection be provided?

Women account for a high share of employment in the public sector throughout the community. The public sector is characterised by strong wage regulation, offering an important alternative to arbitrary employer pay practices in many private service sectors. In most of the member states (all except Ireland, Italy and the UK), the public sector has an integrated pay structure covering both male and female-dominated jobs. This restricts the extent to which women's jobs are rewarded under different principles from men's. Also, the gender pay gap is typically smaller, due to a more compressed range of pay in the public than the private sector.

Public sector pay systems are open to criticism both for evaluating women's jobs at low wage levels, and for being typically slow to respond to pressures for change. Restructuring of the public sector is currently on the agenda in many countries. However, moves towards more fragmented and flexible pay structures, as well as privatisation and subcontracting of certain services, are likely to have a damaging effect on women's wages. The impact will be less severe in countries with a highly regulated private sector, yet dramatic

in countries such as the UK where subcontracting has resulted in the transfer of female employees from a regulated public sector to a deregulated private sector.

SEX SEGREGATION AND INTERINDUSTRY PAY DIFFERENTIALS.

What is the penalty attached to employment segregation?

There is a strong relationship between sex segregation and low pay in all member states. However, the penalty for women of being employed in a sex segregated industry varies across the community. Figure 4a compares women's pay in textiles to the average pay of men in energy, manufacturing and construction. In Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK women only earn between 55% and 62% of male manual workers' average pay. In contrast, the penalty of segregation is much less severe in Denmark, Greece and Italy where the ratio lies between 79% and 83%.

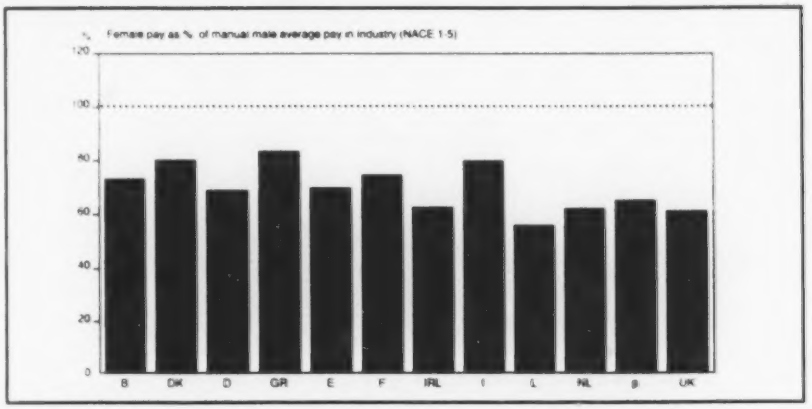
The price of employment segregation for non manual female workers is similarly diverse. Figure 4b compares women's earnings in banking, which is generally a high paying sector for women, to ave[illegible] male non manual pay in energy, [illegible]anufacturing and construction. We find that in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK the ratio is less than 64% whereas in Spain and Portugal, where women have made recent inroads into the banking sector, the ratio is 84% and 118% respectively.

Closing the gender pay gap.

Traditionally, policies to advance women's position in the labour market have concentrated on reducing employment segregation. However, changes in systems of pay determination may have an even greater impact on the gender pay gap than decreases in employment segregation. Hence, policies for equal pay must address the problems of low paying industries and deregulated wage bargaining which penalise women's relative income position across the community.

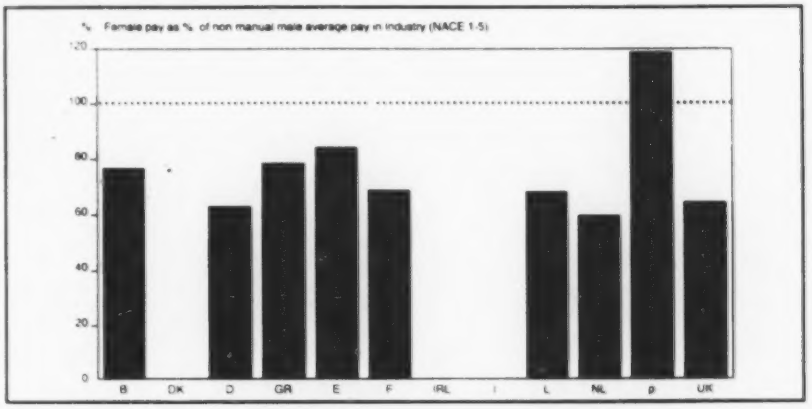
4 Country differences in inter-industry pay differentials

a) The Textiles Industry



Note: All data is for 1991 except Italy 1985, Luxembourg 1990 and data for the Netherlands is from the National Report which combines manual and non manual earnings.

b) The Banking Sector



Note: All data is for 1991 except Luxembourg 1990 and the Netherlands 1989.
Source: Eurostat 'Earnings: Industry and Services' (1992)

All systems of labour market regulation are likely to have their advantages and disadvantages. Nevertheless we can identify six key features of labour market regulation systems which may be expected to provide a relatively favourable context for gender pay equity. These features include:

- a general minimum wage system.
- a low overall degree of wage dispersion.
- a relatively centralised and integrated collective bargaining system.
- payment systems which are transparent and minimise the scope for managerial discretion.
- the involvement of women within the process of collective pay determination.
- the twinning of pay equity policies with policies for full employment.

A general minimum wage is necessary for ensuring equal and fair treatment at the lower end of the labour market where women face a greater risk than men of low pay. Reliance on voluntarist systems, unless backed by very high levels of collective organisation, is no substitute since coverage is incomplete - and it is women who invariably miss out.

As women are concentrated at the bottom of the pay hierarchy, a wide dispersion of earnings tends to favour men and increases the penalties of segregation in low paying firms, industries and occupations. Centralised and integrated collective bargaining tends to restrict the degree of wage dispersion. Greater comparability in pay rates between different organisations and sectors again limits the impact of sex segregation on pay

levels. Transparency in pay systems is also necessary both to limit managerial discretion and to facilitate monitoring of gender pay equity. Individualised pay rates reduce information on what employees in comparable jobs receive and why they receive different rates, and so undermine equal value policies.

Policies for pay equity also have to be formulated in a broader political and economic context. If pay equity is to enter seriously the collective bargaining agenda, greater involvement of women in the collective bargaining process is essential. At the same time, pay equality must be twinned with policies for full employment. Recession exacerbates women's disadvantage and undermines their ability to enforce their rights due to high unemployment and weak collective strength.

Policies to relieve unemployment through labour market flexibility often in practice place the burden of economic adjustment on women's shoulders. Thus, pay equity issues need to be taken into account in the formulation of general labour market and employment policies.

Raising the European employment rate is a key objective of the EU White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment - but this involves above all bringing more women into the wage labour force.

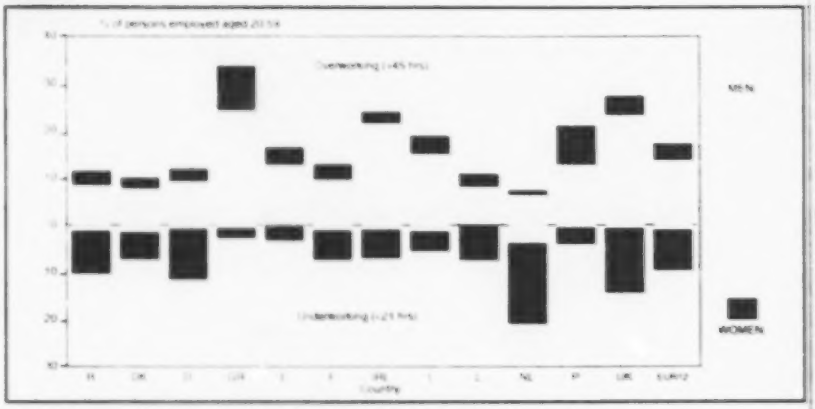
Only 70 per cent of the population of the European Union in the core working ages of 20 to 59 are in employment. A low employment rate places a large burden on those in employment to support the non employed. The young and the old are those groups with the strongest reasons to remain outside of the labour force. So if the European Union wants to increase its employment rate, most effort will have to be concentrated on bringing those in the core age ranges into work.

First priority is usually given to providing employment for the measured unemployed, that is those who are actively seeking work. This group only accounts for just over a fifth of those not in employment within the 20 to 59 year old population. Women, in contrast, account for 63% of all those not in employment. Although 71% of these non employed women are not currently actively seeking work, employment policy cannot be targeted solely on those in open unemployment. The White Paper notes that many of the new jobs created over the last decade have been taken by those outside the formal labour force, that is mainly by women.

Women are thus the key to the European employment rate. They represent by far the largest reserve of labour outside the formal wage labour market and they are also the group most likely to take any new jobs created, particularly in the service sector.

Raising the European employment rate cannot rely solely on creating new areas of work. Redistributing existing work and working hours must be included in the strategy. One method of redistributing work of particular significance for women is that of part-time work. But evidence suggests that part-time work, particulary when involving short hours, of say 20 or less, creates jobs which are not only often low paid and unprotected but are poorly integrated into the workplace and provide few opportunities for advancement. If short hours of work for women go hand in hand with excessively long working hours for men, the distribution of working time contributes considerably to labour market inequality among the sexes. More balanced and even working time provides a better basis for working towards equality of the sexes in both home and work life.

5 **Over and Under Working in the European Union.**



Note: Usual hours equals total usual weekly hours in first or main job.
Source: European LFS 1991, provided by EUROSTAT.

The EU as a whole is a long way from such a pattern. Currently nearly 10% of those in employment work 20 hours or less and over 17% work more than 45 hours. However there is considerable variation between countries in their working time patterns. Figure 5 shows the shares of persons in employment who can be regarded as underworking (no more than 20 hours per week) or overworking (more than 45 hours per week). This figure demonstrates that there is no such thing as a standard European pattern of working time. Three countries stand out as having working-time patterns that diverge markedly from the European average. The Netherlands has a very high share of its labour force that is underworking, and a very low share that is overworking. Greece has exactly the opposite pattern, while the UK is the only country to have labour force shares above the European average in both short and long hours of work.

Although women are much more likely to work short hours than men and men to work long hours than women, in practice the incidence of short and long hours of work is more influenced by country-specific working time practices than by gender. For example there are relatively more women in Greece and Portugal working more than 45 hours than there are men working such hours in the Netherlands. And although the share of men working 20 hours or less can be regarded as relatively insignificant in all countries except the Netherlands, only a very small share of female employment is found working short hours in several EU states, particularly Southern countries.

Gender is an important dimension to working time in all countries but the extent of short and long working is more influenced by country specific patterns of labour market organisation than by the share of women and men in employment. *Nevertheless, debates concerned with the redistribution of work must not be gender blind if they are to achieve two important and linked policy goals: a higher employment rate and sex equality.*

J. Rubery, M. Smith and C. Fagan (1994) *The redistribution of work: taking into account gender and country-specific differences.* Paper presented to the Second European Labour Market Congress, Berlin. Mimeo, Manchester School of Management, UMIST.

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WOMEN IN SPAIN GAIN FROM SUCCESSFUL EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL VALUE CLAIMS.

Equal pay is established as a fundamental right in the Spanish Constitution. Progress in closing the gender pay gap has been slow in recent years, but some important legal victories have been won. At the Constitutional Court in 1991 female cleaners in a hospital successfully argued for equal pay with male labourers on the basis that their work was of equal value. Differences in production-related bonuses between two sex segregated categories of specialists within a firm were also found to be discriminatory by an ordinary tribunal in 1993, because the inferior bonuses paid in the female-dominated category ignored the range of heterogeneous tasks undertaken within this job area. Finally, the Constitutional Court accepted that wage supplements paid to female workers of Puig S.A. were discriminatory because the job evaluation criterium of physical effort was found to be gender biased.

J. Garcia Ortega (1994) ***Las Desigualdades Salariales****. Tirant lo blanch, Valencia. Sentencia 58/1994 de 28 Febrero.* ***Discriminacion por razón de sexo: diferenciación retributiva vulneradora del principio de igualdad.*** *BOE num. 71, Marzo 1994.*

1,800 WOMEN WIN EQUALITY COURT CASE IN IRELAND.

In April 1994 thousands of Irish women took the Department of Social Welfare to court, claiming that they had suffered discrimination according to the 1984 Directive on Equal Treatment in Social Security. The Irish government delayed implementation of this Directive until 1986. This delay of 18 months meant that 70,000 married women continued to suffer discrimination because they were still defined as "dependent" upon their husbands. This meant they received lower personal welfare payments and unlike married men, they had to show that their spouse was incapable of self-support in order to claim child-dependent allowances. Furthermore, when the welfare policies were phased out in 1986, transitional payments were made to men who stood to lose automatic payments but women did not receive transitional payments until 1992. It was this issue that led to a series of court cases, and in the latest case it is estimated that £130 million is to be paid out to 1,800 women. Further cases are pending and a complaint has been made to the European Commission.

WOMEN'S WORK IS STILL DEVALUED IN GERMANY.

Despite equal pay regulations, women's wages still remain remarkably lower than men's. A recently published book analyses this problem with a focus on female-dominated occupations such as nurses, secretaries and cleaners. The collection of articles explores what skills and qualifications are required for each job task, how these occupations are treated in collective agreements, and why concepts of equal pay for work of equal value have not yet been successfully implemented. In general, job evaluation methods are found to be discriminatory, and alternative less discriminatory evaluation criteria are suggested. How to achieve pay equality through collective bargaining, including incorporating European Court decisions within collective agreements is also discussed. The book focuses on Germany, but also includes chapters on equal pay and wage determination in the UK and Norway.

R. Winter (1994) ***Frauen verdienen mehr****. Sigma. 328 pages.*

THE DANISH GENDER PAY GAP INCREASES ALONG WITH GREATER WAGE DISPERSION.

The 1980's were marked by a widening of the gender pay gap and an increased wage dispersion for both salaried and unskilled workers in Denmark. Female salaried workers in the private sector are paid 25-30% less per hour than men. In the public sector the gender wage gap is smaller, but wage levels have stagnated and declined relative to those in the private sector. Why has the gender wage gap increased, even though there was a solidarity policy towards wage increases favouring women for several decades as well as the introduction of the 'equal pay act' in 1976? Danish women have improved their educational levels and work experience relative to men over this period, so traditional economic theories which stress these factors do not explain this worrying trend. Instead a variety of institutional changes have had a negative impact on women's wages: (i) since the late 1970's the government has held public sector pay increases below those obtained in the private sector; (ii) in 1982 the government suspended automatic wage indexation, which gave the highest relative compensation to low wage groups; and (iii) there has been a general decentralisation of the bargaining process.

Smith, Nina. (1992) ***Why did the gender wage gap increase in Denmark after the enactment of the equal pay act?*** *Centre for Labour Economics, University of Aarhus. Rosholm, M. and Smith, N. (1993)* ***The Danish gender wage gap in the 1980's.*** *Centre for Labour Market and Social Research, University of Aarhus. Nordisk Ministerråd (1993)* ***Kvinnelønnas Mysterier.*** *The Nordic Council of Ministers, NORD 1993: 16, Copenhagen.*

THE RIGHT TO PRO-RATA PAYMENT FOR PART-TIME WORKERS IS STALLED IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Under current employment law part-timers can still be paid lower wage-rates than full-timers in the Netherlands. This does not contravene the Equal Treatment Act unless the wage policy indirectly discriminates against women. However, in February 1992 a cabinet proposal for the legal entitlement to pro-rata earnings was passed for advice to the Emancipation Council (ER) and to the Social Economic Council (SER). The ER argues that it is essential and desirable for the proposal to go ahead, but the SER is divided in its opinion. According to those members who oppose the proposal, compulsory legal regulation would frustrate the creation of tailor-made solutions at a decentralised level. They argue that decentralised consultation is better able to balance the costs and benefits of equal pay practices against those of applying unequal wage-rates. As a result of the SER's divided recommendations it is unclear whether the cabinet proposal for pro-rata payment will be implemented in the short term.

"PRIVILEGED" ACCESS TO INFERIOR JOBS FOR WOMEN IN THE BELGIAN YOUTH LABOUR MARKET.

Young women and men rarely gain immediate entry to stable, full-time employment in the Belgian labour market. Instead, many of them are forced to take precarious jobs and subsequently suffer from unemployment. Women face additional problems, for the sexes are not integrated into the labour market in the same way. Women have more "privileged" access to unstable jobs and part-time work and they are more prone to unemployment. Overall their integration is slower and of poorer quality than that for young men.

Adina Vanheerswynghels "Diplomes et emplois" point d'appui travail, emplo, formation. Dossier 5. Bruxelles. Decembre 1993

EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS MUST BE FEMINISED.

Equality directives which have emerged as part of the social programme of the European Union have stimulated the social partners to pay more attention to "women's issues". This has had a positive impact on women's employment opportunities, but women remain marginalised in the negotiating process - men are drawing the picture of Europe and women are only involved in putting a few pieces of the jigsaw into place. Positive action is vital in order to feminise employers' organisations and trade unions so that women can represent their own interests. Agendas developed by women's committees need to be integrated into the mainstream (male) institutions. As well as "mainstreaming", the "gender-proofing" of issues which lack an explicit sex dimension is essential. For example, the draft directive on European Works Councils ignores the issue of women's under-representation in this area of negotiation.

C. Cockburn, M.C.A. Gomez, M. Bergamaschi, H.M. Nickel and C. Rogerat (1993) ***Women in the Europeanizing of Industrial Relations: a study in five member states.*** *V/0664/94-EN. Equal Opportunities Unit (DGV) Brussels.*

Trends in the gender pay ratio for manual and non manual workers in industry (NACE 1 to 5) from 1980 to 1991.

	Manual workers			Non manual workers		
	1980	1985	1991	1980	1985	1991
Belgium	70.25	74.29	75.59	61.90	62.94	65.22
Denmark	86.05	85.83	84.47	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	72.37	72.84	73.39	65.98	65.96	67.09
Greece	67.46	78.79	79.18	n.a	64.31	68.54
Spain	n.a.	n.a.	72.22	n.a.	n.a.	60.93
France	78.28	80.76	80.25	61.13	62.92	67.16
Ireland	68.70	67.30	69.51	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Italy	83.22	82.74	79.30	n.a.	69.16	n.a.
Luxembourg	64.71	65.92	67.95	49.74	54.16	55.18
Netherlands	73.05	73.56	76.17	59.11	63,64	64.78
Portugal	n.a.	n.a.	70.78	n.a.	n.a.	70.71
United Kingdom	69.77	67.09	67.15	54.48	56.25	58.27

Note: The most recent data for the Netherlands and Luxembourg is 1990, and for manual workers in Italy the pay gap is estimated from data for 1989. Data for non manual workers in Denmark and Ireland is missing.
Source: Eurostat 'Earnings: Industry and Services' (1992).

There are three main problems with the Eurostat data: (i) the public sector is excluded; (ii) aggregated data is not possible since data for manual and non manual workers is hourly and monthly respectively; and (iii) earnings data for part-time workers is inconsistently covered, causing problems of inter-country comparison. Nevertheless, Eurostat provides the only source of harmonised earnings data allowing for important intercountry comparisions to be made.

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Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU

No. 4 April 1994

The European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market researches into women's employment for the Equal Opportunities Unit of the European Commission. Each year the network investigates a particular aspect of women's employment and the results are published in a synthesis report drawing on 12 individual national reports. The information bulletin is produced twice a year and the series provides information on key developments in women's employment in the European Union plus some topical items of news and research from the member states.

WOMEN NOW HOLD TWO IN EVERY FIVE JOBS, BUT ATYPICAL OR NON STANDARD EMPLOYMENT IS MORE UNEVENLY DISTRIBUTED

Two out of five of all jobs in the European Union (EU) are now held by women, but no fewer than 8 out of 10 part-time workers, 7 out of 10 family workers and 5 out of 10 temporary employees are women. Men hold three in five jobs but 3 out of 4 self-employed workers are men. So while the integration of women into paid work has increased over time (see Bulletin no.1), the process has been uneven. How are these divisions in employment status and working time linked to divisions between the sexes in the labour force? Are the various atypical employment forms concentrated in male-dominated or female-dominated occupations and sectors? Where do we find these types of jobs concentrated and is there a similar pattern across the member states?

PART-TIME WORK IS WOMEN'S WORK, BUT IS NOT COMMON EVERYWHERE

In 1990[1], 14% of all workers in the EU were part-timers. More women than men are employed part time in every country, and women hold 83% of all part-time jobs in the European Union. Yet the share of employed women working part time varies significantly between countries. It is highest in the Netherlands (59%), UK (43%), Denmark (38%), and Germany (34%), between 26% and 17% in Belgium, France, Ireland and Luxembourg and is 12% or less in the Southern countries. The male part-time rate is 5% or less in every country except the Netherlands (15%) and Denmark (10%) (see Bulletin no.2).

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE EU

Occupational data from the European Community Labour Force Survey classified into the ISCO 68 major occupational groups can be used to provide a comparative picture of women's occupational position in the European Community in 1990.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	Distribution of women's employment(%) All	Full-time	Part-time	% of women in occupation employed part-time	Female/ male share of jobs(%)
1 Professional, Technical and related workers	**19**	**20**	**17**	**28**	**45/55**
2 Administrative & Managerial workers	2	2	1	18	23/77
3 Clerical and related workers	**30**	**31**	**26**	**28**	**64/36**
4 Sales workers	12	11	14	36	49/51
5 Service workers	**20**	**15**	**30**	**48**	**66/34**
6 Agricultural and related workers	5	6	4	22	34/66
7 Production, Transport, Labourers and related workers	**12**	**14**	**8**	**19**	**16/84**
All employment (EUR11)[1]	**100**	**100**	**100**	**31**	**41/59**

Note: Military employment not shown
[1] = no occupational data was available for Italy

[1] The occupational data available are for the 1990 Labour Force Survey, so for consistency all statistics included in this Bulletin use data from this year. Unfortunately no occupational data were available for Italy, so references to occupational data for the European Union as a whole relate to the other 11 countries (EUR11) in 1990.

Where are the part-time jobs?

The occupational distribution of women part-timers in the EUR11 differs from that for women full-timers (see page 1). The basic message is that part-timers are more concentrated in feminised areas than full-timers.

❯ ***Women part-timers are twice as likely as women full-timers to be working in service jobs, the most female-dominated occupational group (30% compared with 15%).***

This greater risk of being concentrated in these generally lower-paid jobs applies to part-timers in every country (see data appendix).

❯ ***One third of women full-timers but only one quarter of women part-timers are employed in the EUR11 as clerical workers.***

More than half of all clerical workers are now women in every country (except Spain and Luxembourg - see Bulletin no.3), and a larger share of full-timers than part-timers are found here in every country except Germany.

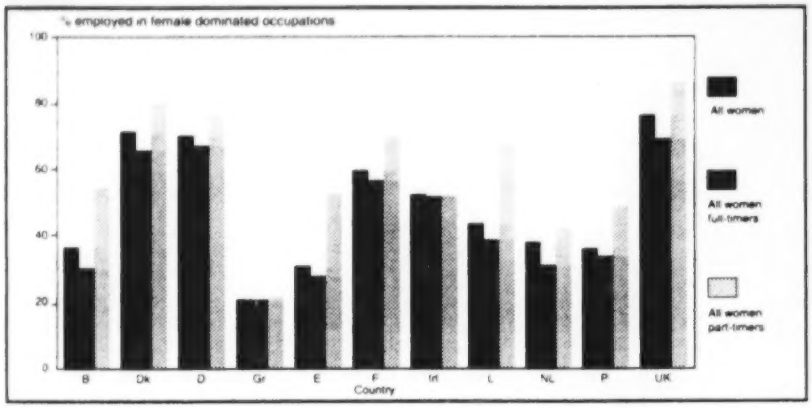
❯ ***Women part-timers are even less likely than women full-timers to be found employed in either the male-dominated production occupations or in the mixed professional job category.***

Working part time appears to be less of a barrier to employment in professional than production jobs. The share of female part-timers employed in professional jobs is only 3 percentage points lower than that for women full-timers (17% compared to 20%) compared to a 6 percentage point gap found in production jobs.

❯ ***Women full-timers have a greater chance of working alongside men, while part-timers are more crowded into female-dominated and lower-paying areas of the labour market. The divisions are even greater when more detailed occupational categories are used.***

Figure 1 shows the share of women working in occupations where at least 60% of the occupational workforce were women. These data are based on 80 occupational sub-categories of the ISCO major occupational groups. In 9 countries the share of part-timers working in female-dominated jobs is greater than the share of full-timers, and in two countries the shares are the same (Greece and Ireland).

1 Concentration of women full and part time workers in female dominated occupations, 1990



Note: Female dominated occupations are defined as those where more than 60% of the occupational workforce are women

Source: Eurostat, Community Labour Force Survey, ISCO (68) Minor Occupational Groups

The countries where women part-timers are much more likely than women full-timers to be employed in highly feminised occupations are Belgium, Spain and Luxembourg, where the differences in concentration exceed 20%. In the UK, Denmark and Germany over three quarters of women part-timers work in female-dominated occupations, but in these countries there is also a high concentration of female full-timers in segregated jobs (69% in the UK, 66% in Denmark and 67% in Germany)

The contribution of part-time work to occupational segregation is clear. The share of women full-timers working in female-dominated jobs ranges from 21% in Greece to 69% in the UK. However, when female part-timers are added in, the share of all women employed in female-dominated work stretches from 21% in Greece to 76% in the UK, with 8 countries recording an increase of at least 3 percentage points.

FEMINISATION OF AN OCCUPATION IS NOT DEPENDENT UPON PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

No clear cut relationship is found between national female activity rates and the sex composition of occupations within member states (see Bulletin no.3). But is there a relationship between part-time employment and the segregation level of occupational groups?

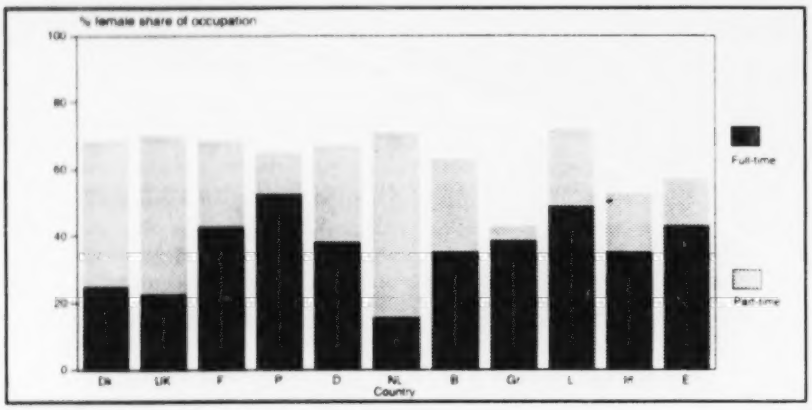
In figures 2a to 2c, the countries are ranked by the female share of overall employment from Denmark, where women hold 46% of all employment to Spain with a share of 32%. For each occupation, the female share is broken down into the full-time and part-time component. If the highest shares of the occupational group were all found towards the left-hand side of the figures this would indicate that there was a straightforward relationship between the sex composition of the workforce and the sex composition of an occupation; in other words women would be evenly integrated throughout the occupational structure. Instead, what we see is a ragged pattern indicating an uneven pattern of integration. But is this variation in the extent of feminisation related to the level of part-time employment?

Service jobs are more feminised and more part-time than any other occupation

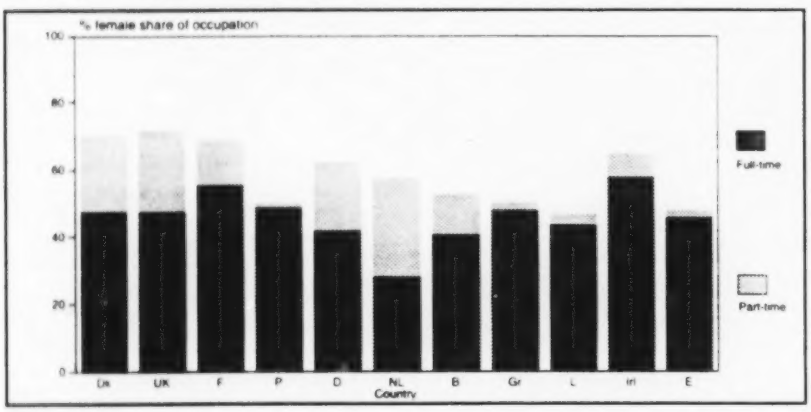
Service jobs not only have the highest concentration of women part-timers but also the highest rate of part-time employment out of all the occupational groups. Nearly half of the women employed in service jobs in the EUR11

2 **Women's share of employment in selected occupations by full and part-time status, 1990**

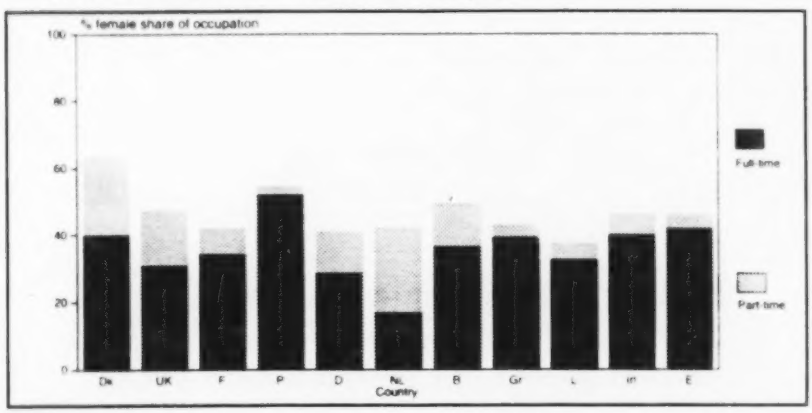
(a) Service occupations



(b) Clerical and related occupations



(c) Professional, Technical and related occupations



Source: Eurostat, Community Labour Force Survey. ISCO (68) Major Occupational Groups

are part-timers (48%) and this is the most female-dominated category (66%). Service jobs are female-dominated in every country except Greece (see Bulletin no.3). Part-time work accounts for a large layer of women's employment in services, much larger than that for any other occupational group. Even in Greece, Portugal and Spain between 12 and 14% of all service jobs are filled by women part-timers, with the figure rising to 55% in the Netherlands (figure 2a).

In every country part-time work is more common in services than any other occupational group and more part-timers than full-timers are crowded into the relatively low-paid service "ghetto".

But part-time work is not a prerequisite for feminisation of either Clerical or Professional Jobs.

Clerical jobs are almost as highly feminised (64%) as service jobs in the EUR11. But unlike services, the rate of part-time employment for women in this category is much lower (28%), and a similar level is found in professional jobs.

The female share of clerical work tends to rise in line with increasing female participation in the labour market. In figure 2b the highest shares of clerical work tend to be found in countries positioned on the left of the graph. Only Portugal and Ireland do not fit the pattern, for while women only hold one third of all jobs in Ireland they hold no fewer than two thirds of all the clerical jobs. And Portugal is similar to the other Southern countries, where men still hold around half of all clerical jobs.

Women's share of professional jobs is not related to their share of overall employment. Only Denmark stands out as having the highest overall female employment rate and a 64% female share of professional jobs (see figure 2c). In contrast Ireland and Spain have the lowest female shares of total employment, well below the EUR11 average, but they have female shares of professional work above the average for the EUR11 (47% and 46% compared to 45%).

Where part-time employment is generally more widespread (NL, UK, DK, D) a larger share of clerical work is part-time. Nevertheless, most clerical work is still full-time. The particularly high female shares of clerical work found in Denmark, the UK and Germany may be explained by the additional layer of part-time work, but clerical work has become highly feminised in both France and Ireland without the creation of part-time jobs. Recently female shares of clerical work have increased significantly in the Southern countries without these jobs being reorganised on a part-time basis.

In some countries, women have also managed to obtain a high share of

professional employment without the creation of part-time jobs. In Portugal, the high female share of professional jobs does not decline significantly if we ignore the small layer of female part-timers in this occupation. Indeed, taking the female full-time share of professional jobs as a criterion, it is Portugal that ranks first, followed by Spain.

It is clear that the female share of clerical and professional jobs is the result of a complex mix of bridges and barriers, with the availability of part-time jobs being only one factor.

WHERE ARE THE TEMPORARY WORKERS?

In 1990 85% of working women and 79% of working men were employees. Of these, 12% of women and 10% of men were on temporary rather than permanent contracts. The proportion of employees who consider themselves to have a temporary rather than a permanent contract varies markedly between countries. These differences reflect to some extent the system of training and of labour market regulation. For example, in countries like the UK specific temporary contracts may not be frequently used as all employees have limited employment protection.

The heaviest use of temporary contracts is found in Spain (30% of all employment), followed by Portugal and Greece. Although there is only a small gender discrepancy in the overall incidence of temporary contracts, this bias exists in every country and in five countries (Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK) the female rate of temporary working is nearly double the male rate. Furthermore, female temporary workers are more likely than male temporary employees to have part-time as well as temporary contracts, making their position even more vulnerable.

Figures 3a and 3b show the concentration of permanent and temporary employment for women and for men in the European Union, together with the share of temporary work within each occupational group for each sex. An "occupational effect" is evident, for the highest rate of temporary employment for both sexes is found among agricultural employees (36% for women and 23% for men) and in services (15% for women employees and 13% for male employees). For both women and men, temporary employees are more concentrated in production, service and agricultural jobs and less concentrated in clerical work than permanent employees.

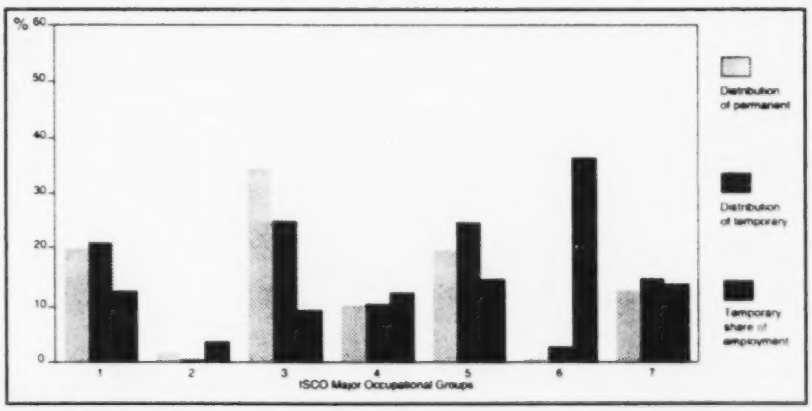
Nevertheless, the strong pull exerted by gender overrides this "occupational effect" in determining where temporary jobs are concentrated. Female temporary employees tend to congregate in the same types of jobs as female permanent employees, and similarly male temporary employees shadow the employment profile for male permanent employees.

Country differences are evident in the pattern of temporary working in the professional category. Women temporary workers in the EUR11 are more concentrated in professional jobs than permanent workers, while the opposite is true for men. In fact, professional jobs absorb a third or more of all female temporary employees in Belgium, Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands (see data appendix). Yet in the Southern countries, female temporary employees are less likely than female permanent employees to hold professional jobs, and instead are disproportionately crowded into agricultural and production jobs, and sales work in the case of Spain.

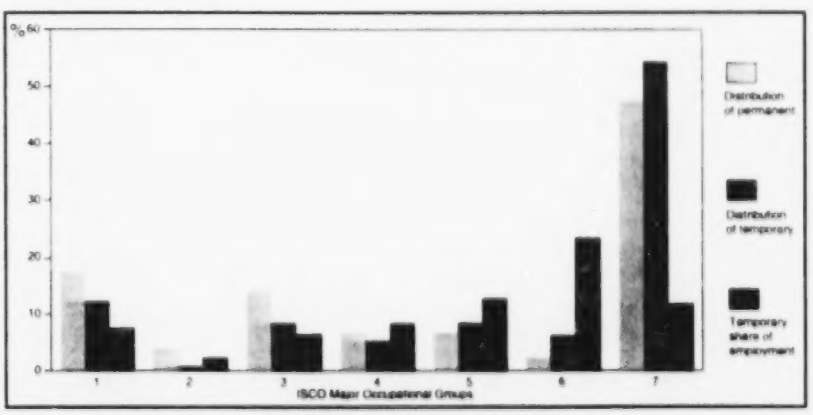
Temporary employment is a double disadvantage for women in Greece, Portugal and Spain. Women in these countries are more likely to hold an insecure temporary contract than women in the North, and they are also more likely to hold it outside the

3 Distribution of permanent and temporary employees for EUR11, 1990

(a) Female Employees



(b) Male Employees



Source: Eurostat, Community Labour Force Survey, ISCO (68) occupational data

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN THE EUR11, 1990

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	Women			Men		
	Employees	Self-employed	Family workers	Employees	Self-employed	Family workers
1. Professional	20	16	1	17	12	1
2. Admin. etc.	2	4	0	4	6	0
3. Clerical	33	2	9	14	1	3
4. Sales	10	28	22	7	18	13
5. Service	21	19	10	7	7	9
6. Agriculture	1	24	53	3	25	59
7. Production	13	8	5	48	31	15
Total(%)	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Family working was not included for the UK survey until 1993

professional labour market, in a sector offering not only precarious but also low-paid work.

For the European labour market taken as a whole, employees on temporary contracts are probably no less likely than employees with permanent contracts to be working in highly sex-segregated occupations. While female temporary workers are even more likely than women with permanent contracts to be found in the female-dominated services, they are less likely to be found in the almost equally feminised clerical areas. Overall, 54% of female permanent employees are found in clerical or service jobs and female temporary employees are only slightly less concentrated in these jobs (50%). This similarity in concentration levels is found in most countries, only in Denmark and Luxembourg does the gap in concentrations exceed 5%.

SELF-EMPLOYMENT IS PREDOMINANTLY MALE, FAMILY WORK PREDOMINANTLY FEMALE

Over 80% of employed people are employees, but 16% are recorded as self-employed and a further 3% as family workers. A higher share of men were self-employed (19%) than women (10%) in the EUR12 in 1990 while just under 5% of women in employment but only 1% of men were family workers. *So while three quarters of the self-employed were men, 73% of family workers were women.* These gender discrepancies apply everywhere except Portugal.

The highest rates of self-employment and family work are found in the Southern countries. In Greece 43% of employed men and 20% of employed women are self-employed, followed by Italy (28% for men and 17% for women), Spain (23% and 16%) and Portugal (26% for both sexes). The male self-employment rate is also high for men in Ireland (30%) but for women a 'Northern' rather than 'Southern' rate of self-employment is found (8%). Among the other Northern countries, Belgium has the highest level of self-employment for both sexes (19% for men and 11% for women).

It is also Greece where family work is most common, accounting for 28% of employed women and 5% of employed men. Next comes Spain (11% of employed women and 3% of men) and Italy (7% of women and 2% of men). Elsewhere the rate is 6% or less for women and 2% or less for men.

Where are the self-employed and family workers?

Over half of all self-employed women are employed in sales and agricultural jobs compared to only 22% of women employees in the EUR11 (see table above). Female family workers are even more concentrated in these two categories (75%). Only 2% of self-employed women are clerical workers compared to 33% of female employees. Interestingly, women family workers are more likely than self-employed women to be involved in clerical work (9% compared to 2%), probably "keeping the books" for family businesses.

The strong association between self-employment and agricultural and sales jobs also applies for the male self-employed. Self-employed men are more likely to work in some less segregated areas of the economy such as sales but less likely to work in some female-dominated areas such as clerical work. Moreover, the male-dominated production jobs remain the most important job area for men, regardless of whether they are employees or self-employed.

Even where women and men work together in agriculture they are segregated by employment status

Agricultural jobs are a significant source of employment for both women and men in the Southern countries and for men in Ireland.

Agricultural jobs account for nearly one third of working women and 21% of working men in Greece, and for 21% of working women and 16% of working men in Portugal. In Spain and Italy the concentration of employment in agriculture is lower (10% of women and 13% of men for Spain, 9% for both sexes in Italy). In Ireland agriculture accounts for a larger share of male

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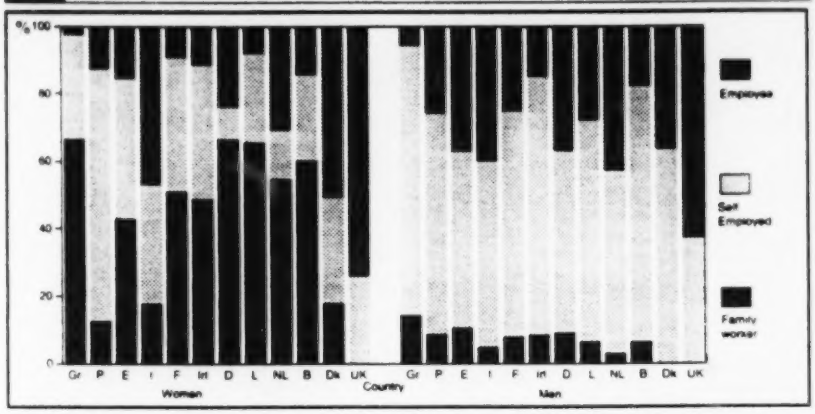
employment (21%) but for women the share is similar to that for other Northern countries (5%). Agriculture is a mixed occupational area in Greece and Portugal where women hold 44% and 50% of the jobs, while in Italy and Spain women hold 35% and 27% of the jobs and in Ireland only 10%.

Although agricultural jobs in the Southern countries appear to be less gender segregated than many other occupational areas, closer inspection reveals a different form of segregation between women and men by employment contract (see figure 4). *Within agricultural employment in every country, men are more likely to be self-employed than women, who are more likely to be working alongside them as unpaid family workers.* The picture is starkest in Greece where two thirds of women occupied in agriculture are family workers, just under a third are self-employed and only 3% are employees. In contrast only 15% of the men in this occupational group are family workers and over 80% are self-employed. Portugal is the Southern country that stands out from this general pattern, for female agricultural workers are more likely to be family workers ***and*** more likely to be self-employed but less likely to be employees than male agricultural workers.

4 Composition of agricultural employment by employment status for women and men, 1990



Note: Countries ranked from Greece, with the highest concentration of female employment in agriculture down to the UK. Sectoral rather than occupational data used for Italy.
Source: Eurostat, Community Labour Force Survey, ISCO 68 Agricultural and Related Occupations.

Traditional businesses and traditional gender inequalities

Self-employment in traditional areas like agricultural and sales work often involve more than one member of the family, for example husband and wife. But unpaid female family workers often also work alongside male self-employed workers. Whereas working for a family business may offer more autonomy and satisfaction than working for an employer, the financial security of women in family businesses is tied up with the well-being of familial relationships. Even when not working for family businesses women agricultural and sales workers are more likely to be employed by, and thus subordinate to, a male farmer or shopkeeper.

SEGREGATION CONTOURS: CONTRACTUAL AS WELL AS OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS

A variety of economic and social factors influence country patterns of occupational segregation and concentration (see Bulletin no.3). We have also seen that different contractual relations and employment forms also impact on the shape and meaning of segregation.

Women part-timers are more concentrated than women full-timers in the most feminised part of the labour market, particularly in service jobs. They are much less likely than women full-timers to work alongside men. This division has the greatest impact in those Northern countries with the highest rates of part-time working.

Temporary employment contracts are more common in the Southern countries, where female temporary employees are more likely to be concentrated in low status, feminised jobs than female permanent employees. Yet overall, the distribution of temporary employment contracts tends to follow that of permanent employment contracts for each of the sexes. In most countries the share of temporary employees concentrated in the female-dominated clerical and service jobs was only slightly lower than the concentration of permanent employees. This contrasts with the much greater divergence in employment concentrations found between women full- and part-timers.

Divisions between the self-employed, family workers and employees reveal another dimension to segregation in the labour market. Even in relatively mixed occupational areas, such as agriculture in the Southern countries, women are often working not only alongside but also for self-employed men, whether as family workers or as employees.

Occupational segregation matters to women because of the effect it has on their pay and employment status. To understand the effect fully we need to look at how atypical or non standard employment increases segregation, both between occupations and even within occupations. The inferior working conditions and pay often found in atypical and non standard employment add to the gender pay gap associated with the gendered division of occupations.

The Network on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market has recently completed research on the occupational segregation of women and men:
Jill Rubery and Colette Fagan (1993) *Occupational Segregation of Women and Men in the European Community (Social Europe Supplement 3/93)*. Luxembourg: Official Publications for the European Communities.
Most of the national reports prepared by the Experts are available from the Coordinating team. A charge will be made to cover reproduction costs.

"SELF-HELP" BY WOMEN ECONOMISTS IN ITALY'S UNIVERSITIES: STRATEGIES FOR CAREER ADVANCEMENT"

Women economists in Italy are investigating the segregation of their profession. Faculties of economics have expanded rapidly in the last two decades and a high share of economics students are women. Yet some gender friction in the process of advancing up the career ladder is apparent, for women account for 42% of researchers in economics and statistics, 21% of associate professors and only 8% of full professors. The women economists are researching gender differences in the strategies and problems of combining academic positions with family roles; whether the career moves and research activities of women deviate from the "male" curriculum vitae; and the existence of discriminatory practices. Part of the analysis is nearly complete and examines trends in the segregation of the profession, gender differences in career advancement and the research output of the sexes.

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THE TERTIARY SECTOR OFFERS SOME PROTECTION TO WOMEN..THEY ARE HOLDING ONTO THEIR LABOUR MARKET POSITION DESPITE THE POOR ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN FRANCE

A recent workshop organised by the Women's Rights Service drew cautious but optimistic conclusions about women's labour market position in the harsh economic climate. Women are maintaining their position among salaried workers and even inequalities in unemployment seem to be falling, partly because women's training and employment is mainly in service sector activities where job creation is forecast to be concentrated. So the value of measures to encourage the diversification of women's employment out of the tertiary sector should be reconsidered. Unemployment and involuntary part-time work are manifestations of the shortage of work in the current economic crisis. In this context, a wider reorganisation of working-time which abandoned the traditional professional career model (no career breaks and long, rigid working hours) in favour of "worksharing" for everyone (shorter, flexible hours) would have economic as well as equity benefits.

Employment delegation, Women's Rights Service, **Women's Employment**, Notes from the Research Day, La Documentation Française, 1993.

CHANGING FAMILY AND EMPLOYMENT ROLES FOR WOMEN IN LUXEMBOURG

The economic and family status of women in Luxembourg has changed significantly in recent decades. Women are spending longer in education and in the labour market. Although motherhood still constitutes a barrier to employment for married women, between 1970 and 1981 the participation rate of married women aged 25-29 increased, irrespective of the number of children they had. By 1981 nearly a third of children aged 16 or less had an employed mother; the rate was nearly double for lone mothers. Patterns of family life are also changing. More than 20% of households are now headed by a sole women. While most of these are widows, the proportion who are single, separated or divorced is increasing. By 1981 8% of all children lived solely with their mother, and half of these children were under the age of 12 with a separated or divorced mother. A second report examining the implications for women's incomes is due to appear shortly.

***Women in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg**, report available for the Ministry of the Family in Luxembourg.*

POLARISATION OF EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS FOR WOMEN IN PORTUGAL

A dynamic analysis is imperative in order to understand the segmented nature of the Portuguese labour market for women. Employment prospects are improving for young women who gain qualifications in the expanding professional areas, but they remain an elite group of women. Furthermore, they are crowded into the female-dominated occupations in science and the arts where contractual conditions for new recruits are deteriorating. Most women remain trapped in a vicious cycle of low qualifications - lack of previous employment experience - employment in precarious jobs. Employment in traditional and declining industries is unstable, against a background of successive bankruptcies. Many other women are trapped in precarious jobs in personnel and domestic services, where the employment conditions are so bad that many live in poverty. Women in these jobs often do not have an employment contract, stable wages or social security protection, and benefits such as paid holidays or age-related bonuses are rare. Perista, H. and Chages Lopes, M. (1991). **"Potencialidades e Vulnerabilidades do Emprego das Mulheres"** Organizações e Trabalho, no. 5/6 December 1991. Perista, H. et. al (1992) **"A Pobreza no Feminino na Cidade de Lisboa"** Non-Governmental Organisations of the Consultative Council of the Portuguese Equal Opportunities Commission (CIDM).

REMOVAL OF MINIMUM WAGE PROTECTION IN THE UK WILL HIT WOMEN HARDEST

On August 30 1993, the UK Government abolished the remaining Wages Councils. While the Wage Councils only ever set minimum rates for some industrial sectors, the UK now has no statutory minimum wage protection at all. The majority of workers in the old Wage Councils industries are women. The minimum rates helped to reduce the gender pay gap by establishing a safety net for women's wages, and also set an equal pay rate for women and men working in these sectors. The Government argues that equal pay can be maintained under the Equal Pay Act. But the Trade Unions Congress (TUC) has made a formal complaint to the European Commission that abolition of the Wage Councils contravenes the right to equal pay. The TUC and the Equal Opportunities Commissions of Great Britain and Northern Ireland argue that minimum wage protection is less complex than the UK equal pay legislation and helped to fulfil the requirement in European law for "effective" remedy against unequal pay.

*Trade Unions Congress **Complaint to the Commission of the European Communities for failure to comply with Community Law** (89/C26/07)*

WOMEN WILL BENEFIT FROM THE NEW COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT IN GREECE

The social partners signed the new collective agreement on July 9th 1993, which covers the period from 1 January 1993 until 31 December 1995. Six of the 14 articles in the agreement focus on improving the conditions of women's employment. The entitlement to maternity leave will be extended from 15 to 16 weeks and the right for mothers who are breast feeding to be absent from work for one hour a day will apply for two years instead of one. Parental leave is also to be increased from 3 to 3.5 months for each parent to be taken while the child is under the age of 3. All companies with 50 or more employees will have to provide parental leave. On February 23 1993 the ban on night work for women was removed. Employers are obliged to "avoid" placing pregnant women on night shifts and these women have the right to request a transfer. A potentially far reaching initiative is that a Commission is to be established with representatives from the social partners. The Commission will monitor the implementation of provisions on equal treatment and develop new anti-discrimination proposals.

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% Occupational distribution of Employment for Women by Full-time and Part-time Status, and for women employees by temporary and permanent status 1990

Country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Belgium								
FFT (FPT)	29 (30)	2 (.)	28 (23)	12 (12)	13 (29)	3 [1]	13 (5)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	32 (34)	1 (.)	31 (27)	7 (5)	16 (24)	[0] (.)	13 (8)	100 (100)
FFT (FPT)	36 (34)	2 (.)	28 (22)	8 (11)	8 (22)	1 [1]	16 (10)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	37 (39)	1 (.)	28 (19)	8 (11)	14 (13)	1 (.)	11 (16)	100 (100)
Germany								
FFT (FPT)	19 (17)	2 (1)	33 (33)	12 (16)	14 (21)	4 (4)	16 (10)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	18 (25)	1 (1)	36 (27)	13 (13)	16 (20)	1 (2)	15 (12)	100 (100)
Greece								
FFT (FPT)	15 (18)	1 (.)	16 (9)	12 (11)	11 (15)	30 (39)	15 (8)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	26 (19)	[1] (.)	31 (15)	8 (8)	13 (26)	. (7)	21 (24)	100 (100)
Spain								
FFT (FPT)	16 (11)	1 (.)	21 (8)	16 (11)	21 (50)	10 (11)	15 (8)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	24 (12)	1 (.)	28 (20)	7 (12)	26 (31)	1 (5)	14 (20)	100 (100)
France								
FFT (FPT)	19 (15)	[0] (.)	35 (28)	10 (10)	19 (36)	5 (6)	12 (5)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	19 (21)	[0] (.)	38 (32)	7 (8)	23 (26)	1 (1)	11 (12)	100 (100)
Ireland								
FFT (FPT)	24 (18)	2 (.)	32 (18)	11 (16)	14 (32)	4 (10)	14 [(5)]	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	23 (33)	[2] (.)	34 (23)	10 [(12)]	16 (23)	. (.)	14 [(8)]	100 (100)
Luxembourg								
FFT (FPT)	15 (11)	. (.)	39 (14)	13 (10)	24 (57)	[3] (.)	6 (.)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	14 [(21)]	. (.)	40 [.]	11 (.)	29[(39)]	. (.)	6 (.)	100 (100)
Netherlands								
FFT (FPT)	28 (27)	2 (1)	34 (22)	13 (13)	14 (30)	2 (4)	7 (4)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	28 (33)	1 (.)	28 (30)	12 (10)	24 (17)	1 (3)	5 (8)	100 (100)
Portugal								
FFT (FPT)	12 (6)	1 (.)	17 (4)	9 (8)	16 (38)	20 (32)	24 (13)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	18 (9)	1 (.)	24 (15)	5 (7)	22 (28)	2 (9)	29 (33)	100 (100)
UK								
FFT (FPT)	21 (15)	6 (2)	38 (25)	10 (16)	12 (34)	1 (1)	13 (8)	100 (100)
Perm (Temp)	18 (26)	4[(1)]	35 (26)	12 (10)	21(26)	1 (2)	11 (10)	100 (100)

Note: FFT = Female full-timers, FPT = Female part-timers, Perm = Permanent employees, Temp = Temporary employees. Unreliable data not shown, [ ] indicates caution concerning reliability. Military not shown. Shares which are 0.5% or less have been rounded down to zero.

Source: Eurostat, Community Labour Force Survey. ISCO (68) main occupational groups.

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